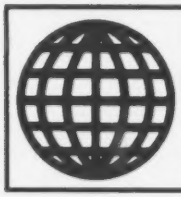

Daily Report

Supplement

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-125S
Wednesday
29 June 1988

Soviet Union
SUPPLEMENT

FBIS-SOV-88-125 *29 June 1988*

CONTENTS

19th CPSU CONFERENCE

Conference First Day Proceedings Reported 1
Gorbachev Delivers Report 1
Foreign Media Carry Speech 35
Leading Organ Members Listed *[PRAVDA 29 Jun]* 36
Proceedings Described *[PRAVDA 29 Jun]* 36
Yakovlev Briefs Reporters on Gorbachev Speech 37
Slights Two-Party System 41
Leaders Lay Wreath at Lenin's Tomb 42
Party Conference Resumes Work 29 Jun 42
Zaykov Interviewed on Party Conference *[Budapest MTI]* 42

Conference First Day Proceedings Reported

Gorbachev Delivers Report

LD2806113088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0612 GMT 28 Jun 88

[CPSU Central Committee report delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference being held in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—live]

[Text] Comrade delegates! How to deepen the revolutionary restructuring that has been launched in our country on the initiative and under the guidance of the party, and make it irreversible—that is the fundamental issue facing us, the delegates to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. This question is posed by life itself. It is being discussed broadly in the party and among the people, and whether the party is in a position to fulfill the role of political vanguard at the new stage of the development of Soviet society depends on how correct an answer we give. One can quite justifiably call the last 3 years of our lives a turnaround. It has been possible, by the efforts of the party and the working people, to stop the slide toward crisis in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres. Society now knows and understands better its past, present, and future. The policy of restructuring, developed in specific socioeconomic programs, is becoming the practical cause of millions. This is the essence of the political situation in the country.

We can see how society has become enlivened. The country's spiritual life has become more varied, more interesting, and richer. Many of the ideas of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilich Lenin, which until recently were either taken in a one-sided way or were passed over completely in silence, have been getting new readings. In the struggle against dogmatism the creative principle of scientific, humanistic socialism is being reborn. People have started to feel their own responsibility; they are breaking free of apathy and alienation. The wind of renewal is tempering the people's moral health. Democratization has freed a great stream of thoughts, emotions, and initiatives. The assertion of truth and glasnost is purifying the atmosphere in society; it is inspiring people, unfettering their consciousness, and stimulating active work.

It is, comrades, a brilliant and impressive process in which all that is honest and progressive in our people is involved. The forces of revolutionary renewal are being consolidated. People have come to believe in restructuring and demand an unfaltering advance—and only an advance. The working class is demonstrating a lofty consciousness and level of organization. In the process of the unusual, new, and complex developments invading our life, it is once again demonstrating its fine political and moral qualities, exhibiting a truly civic and statesman-like approach to matters and expressing support for restructuring through its labor.

This stance by the working class enables the party to confidently carry out revolutionary transformations. The peasantry has responded with great commitment. The congress of kolkhoz workers has proved what a powerful restructuring energy it possesses. The champions of restructuring in agriculture are boldly undertaking new forms of work, arming themselves with science and efficient technology, demonstrating a readiness to experiment, to search, even to take risks on behalf of the new cause, and to exert themselves fully in working responsibly and skillfully for themselves and for the good of the fatherland.

Restructuring has confirmed Lenin's well-known tenet on the intelligentsia's heightened social sensitivity and its responsiveness to social change. It has responded fervently to the party's appeals to place society's intellectual and spiritual potential fully at the service of restructuring. The intelligentsia gave sincere support to the lesson of truth given by the 27th CPSU Congress. Party decisions over the last 3 years have met with deep understanding among it. And so, the main political result of the post-April period has been a change in the entire atmosphere, in society, a start of the materialization of the idea of renewal, and growing support by the Soviet people for the party's course of restructuring.

However, does this mean that changes for the better are taking place everywhere and at full speed, that revolutionary transformations have become irreversible? No, it does not. If we wish to remain grounded in reality, we have to admit that so far this has not taken place, comrades. We have not yet overcome the profound causes of the braking process, and the mechanisms of renewal have not been brought in everywhere nor have some things been worked out completely. The capacity for action by many party organizations does not match the tasks of restructuring. Qualitative changes are needed in our development, and this calls for fundamental decisions and for vigorous and innovative actions.

Today we are faced with many complex issues, but which of them is the key one? The CPSU believes that the reform of our political system is such an issue. The Central Committee has set out its platform in the theses for the conference. The task was not posed there of ready answers to everything. We calculated that new ideas and proposals that can be taken into account by the conference will arise in the course of discussion and that its decision will then really be the result of the collective creativity of the whole party and people. Thus, the political aim of our conference is to interpret the period after the April Plenum of the Central Committee and the 27th party congress in a comprehensive and critical manner, to enrich the strategy and to express in concrete terms the tactics of our transformations, and to define the ways, forms, and methods of work that will guarantee the steadfast development and the irreversibility of restructuring, in the spirit of Leninist traditions and relying on our accumulated experience.

Comrades, the process of revolutionary renewal is increasingly penetrating the deciding sphere of life and the economy. We have set about the profound reform, truly radical in its aims and scale, of managing the national economy. A considerable proportion of the economy's primary units have been transferred to the principles of complete financial autonomy and self-financing in accordance with the Law on the State Enterprise. The law which was recently adopted on cooperatives in the USSR opens up a path toward establishing a major cooperative sector in the country's economy and toward the broad application of various cooperative forms in all spheres of the national economy. Restructuring of labor and internal production relations has begun on the basis of contracting and leasing. This makes it possible to unite the advantage of public property with the personal interest of a person and his caring attitude to the matter in hand and civic self-assertion.

Noticeable impetus has been given to developing individual labor activity. Several major decisions of a fundamental nature have been made that have determined directions for restructuring for the basic branches of the national economy and the social sphere, which are being implemented.

The economy is gradually gaining momentum. Last year for the first time overall growth in national income was achieved by raising labor productivity. There has been a renewal in the growth of the working people's real income. In the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan real income calculated per head of population has increased by 4.6 percent. By comparison with the 11th 5-Year Plan annual construction of housing has increased by 15 million square meters. We have seriously set about reorganizing public education and the health service. The birth rate has risen and the death rate has fallen, and that is to no mean degree connected with the campaign against drunkenness and alcoholism. The tendency toward improving the social and economic situation has also developed this year. National income is increasing more rapidly than envisaged by the plan with an absolute reduction in the number of people employed in material production. Production of consumer goods is increasing at a very fast pace, and that has made it possible to fulfill the 5-month task for the volume of trade turnover.

A total of 5.9 percent more food and nonfood products have been sold than in the same period last year. The volume of consumer services to the people has increased by 13.5 percent. The construction of housing and social and consumer facilities has been intensified; 6 percent more apartments and houses, 22 percent more general schools, nearly one-third more preschool institutions, clubs, and houses of culture, and twice as many hospitals have been built.

All this is the real fruit of restructuring. However, comrades, we are obliged to be self-critical and to see clearly that despite all the positive elements the state of affairs in the economy is slow in changing, especially if we judge by the final result, by the peoples' standard of living.

What are the reasons for this? It must be said frankly, comrades: We underestimated the whole depth and weight of the deformations during the past years' stagnation. There was a lot we simply didn't know and are seeing only now. It turned out that the neglect of affairs in different spheres of the economy was more serious than we had first thought.

Just how serious the situation is can be seen in particular in the country's financial situation. For many years the outgoings of the state budget went faster than its income. The budget deficit applies pressure on the market, undermines the stability of the ruble and money circulation, and gives birth to inflationary processes. Yet, I think that in speaking of the mistakes and the bitter lessons of the past we must be no less exacting and no less principled in our attitude to ourselves and the present time than we are to our predecessors. We must analyze not only our successes but also our mistakes, the lessons of our activity over the past 3 years, and the mistakes and blunders made during restructuring. From this viewpoint, it must be said self-critically: Over 3 years we could have done much more than was done in the main sectors of restructuring, first and foremost in raising the efficiency of our economy and improving its final results. It is a fact that even today the country continues to use too much fuel energy, electric power, and metal per unit of national income. This is why there is a shortage of resources despite the great volume of them produced, which obliges us to allocate more and more money to increase the raw material, fuel, and energy base. In order to break out of this vicious circle we have embarked on a radical modernization of Soviet mechanical engineering as the decisive condition for accelerating scientific and technical progress and for reconstructing our entire national economy. I can say that this is an unprecedented program. It demands extraordinary efforts, not only in mechanical engineering itself, but in the chemical industry, metallurgy, and other industries, and of course in the sphere of scientific research and development.

Work has started on this, but it is not yet on a level with the scale of the tasks that have been set. It is going slowly, especially in such vanguard spheres as microelectronics, computer technology, and the creation of advanced materials. Direct responsibility for this is borne by the Bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers for machine-building, the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, and the leading industry cadres.

Structural advances in the economy are going slowly on the whole. This means that it still has most of the problems that have accumulated in the past. But this is also a reflection of today's approaches to economic management.

And another thing: the June Plenum of the Central Committee, as you will recall, spoke of the need to combine the achievement of long-term strategic aims with the maximum satisfaction of the vital needs of the people. Structural restructuring and radical economic reform are fundamental processes. They will require time, great efforts, and resources. In implementing these tasks, we must at the same time without delay also address the pressing problems of raising the people's well-being. This line stems wholly from the directives of the 27th CPSU Congress aimed at intensifying the social orientation of our development.

How are these tasks being addressed? I will begin with the food problem, as this is perhaps the sorest point in the life of society, the most acute problem. There are certain improvements here, but they cannot satisfy us. In essence, the increase in the food supply that we have attained has, to a substantial extent, gone to covering needs connected with population growth. And this means, comrades, that we need a different, higher pace of increasing food resources. We have neither a moral nor political right to accept a protracted resolution of the food problem.

A fair question arises: Why have we not been succeeding for so long in making any headway in this? Certainly, many causes trace their roots back into the past, when the foundations of the rural economy's development were seriously undermined. But this in no way justifies the current neglect in agriculture. It would appear that all the knots have been untied, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the rayons, the oblasts, the republics, have been granted the most wide-ranging rights for increasing production of crop and livestock output, but the desired result is still lacking.

More than that, many decisions of the recent period are coming up against incomprehension and procrastination in their implementation, against all manner of bureaucratic obstacles, and simply even reluctance to work in the new way. The correctness of that conclusion is confirmed by the differences in the results of the work of many regions, even with equal natural and climatic conditions. Where they have come to grips with the job energetically, where they are really using the new possibilities, the situation is noticeably improving. Take for example Belorussia, Lithuania, Altay Kray, and Belgorod, Volgograd, Zhitomir, Lipetsk, Orel, Khmelnitskiy, and Tselinograd Oblasts. The production of livestock products is steadily rising there, which has made it possible to noticeably improve the provision of foodstuffs.

But how is it they managed to improve the provision of food to the population in Belgorod Oblast, and they didn't manage it in neighboring Kursk Oblast? How is it that the farm workers in Tselinograd Oblast increased supplies of meat, milk, and vegetables to the trade network, and yet in North Kazakhstan and certain other neighboring oblasts they didn't manage to do it? Such examples, comrades, occur, as they say, all the live-long time.

More than that, Vologda, Kaliningrad, Kirovograd, Kurgan, and Yaroslavl Oblasts, and the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic have even incurred a reduction in the production of many agricultural products. Instances of stagnation still persist in the agriculture of Uzbekistan, Moldavia, and the Transcaucasian republics. So much lies in the attitude to the job, in the competence of the leadership, in their ability to run the economy in the new way. I think the quest for ways of improving the job of food supply has to be continued in all places, and primarily in those oblasts and republics where the situation is not changing, or is improving slowly. Moreover, this has to be done throughout the nation, on the basis of a profound analysis of the state of agriculture. What should attention be focused upon?

Experience shows that the shortest and most reliable path to a sufficiency in foodstuffs is to introduce broad, general leasing and other effective methods of organizing and stimulating labor. This is a key section of the present-day agrarian policy. The results of work done by collectives working on leasing and contracting have demonstrated that, over a relatively short period, the level of crop yield and livestock productivity can be rapidly increased, labor productivity can be substantially raised, losses can be curtailed, and good-quality output produced. It is precisely in this experience, comrades, that provides the answer to the major question of how long it will take the country to resolve the foodstuffs problem.

Everything depends on how quickly we get people interested and set up the work of leased and sub-contracting collectives, how broadly we involve rural workers in this process, and make the peasant the genuine master of the land. It goes without saying that we must, at the same time, pursue the course to strengthen the material-technical base of agriculture and the food industry. Measures for improving the transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural produce are of an urgent nature. If we manage to reap, transport, store, and process the harvest in time, and deliver the goods to the customer in good time, then even at the present level of productivity of fields and farms it will be possible to increase the consumption of food products by 20-30 percent. This obvious reserve must be used.

We have worked out a specific program for improving the processing, storage, and transportation of agricultural products and we have allocated R77 billion for these purposes in the remaining years of the 12th and for the 13th 5-year period. Now we must organize affairs ably and make efficient use of these resources so that we can decisively correct the situation in a short time. The broad development of the cooperative movement, the

introduction of financial autonomy and leased contracting, as well as other progressive methods of organizing and stimulating labor, objectively require radical changes in the management of the agro-industrial complex.

Practice has shown that, in their present form, agro-industrial bodies in rayons and oblasts are making themselves redundant. It seems one must follow the path prompted by life, upon which, following the example of Tula grain-growers, many rayons, oblasts, and republics have already embarked. I am talking about the voluntary union of kolkhozes and sovkhozes for the creation of joint services and management bodies.

Agricultural workers are better judges of what forms of management and services organizations they need. As far as soviet and party organs are concerned, their task lies in lending assistance and support to farms in restructuring in rural areas, in radically changing methods of management. As for those workers who are holding things up and standing in the way of new developments, as was already stated at the kolkhoz farmers congress, they must be decisively removed.

And another important problem—no matter what resources we direct at agriculture, they will not give the necessary return unless we concern ourselves with the individual, with the conditions of his labor and daily life. I would like to speak in particular about the social development of rural areas. Here, society has no small debt to repay to the rural dwellers. Housing and social and cultural conditions, as well as the medical care provided in villages, are at a low level in many rayons.

To this one must add the unsatisfactory way in which houses in the countryside are fitted out; difficulties with electricity supplies and the use of domestic equipment; and the poor condition of roads.

During the present 5-year plan, more major measures than ever before are being undertaken toward improving the social sphere in the countryside. A major program of transformation is being implemented in particular in that most important region of the country, the Russian non-Chernozem zone. Workers in the countryside should, in the coming years, already feel everywhere real changes in living and working conditions. This line must continue to be consistently carried out in the future. Gosplan and the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee should proceed from this when preparing the plan for the 13th 5-Year Plan.

In a word, comrades, the essence of agrarian policy at the present stage amounts to insuring a radical change in the production relationship in the countryside itself. We must restore the economic balance between town and village, disclose in all ways the potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes through the development of various forms of sub-contracting and leasing, overcome the alienation of the peasant from the land, and make him the sole master and protect him against any commanding, cardinal change in the living conditions of rural workers. Only on this basis can the effectiveness of agro-industrial production be sharply increased and a radical improvement in the food supply within the country be ensured.

On the housing problem. We have begun to solve a task of exceptional importance, to provide practically every family with a separate apartment or an individual house by the year 2000. As we know, in order to do this, over 35 million apartments and houses have to be built. Although the situation in housing construction has begun to change for the better, it remains very tense, and people are waiting years for an apartment. We have set about unusual solutions in this regard. We have considerably increased the scale of the erection of new houses and apartments at the expense of state resources, by reducing capital investment on industrial construction, and of the funds of labor collectives that have gone over to financial autonomy. Practical measures have been taken to develop cooperative and individual housing construction. Their essence lies in meeting the desires of people to provide themselves with a cooperative apartment or a home of their own.

To this end, all bans and limitations on the dimensions of buildings and their number of floors have been removed. Let people put up what they need, with their labor resources, taking into consideration present and future requirements. The numerous proposals to provide citizens with the opportunity to buy from the state the apartments they occupy, with the right to pass them on by inheritance, are thought to be well-founded.

The decision adopted to speed up the construction of housing has evoked the approval of the Soviet people. Everywhere things have begun to change for the better, but new problems are arising. The level of development of the base of construction organizations and the construction materials industry is not in keeping with growing demand. Here a great deal needs to be done, taking advantage of all the possibilities available in the oblasts, krays, and republics. Much depends on the machine-builders who are obliged to supply the most modern machines and equipment to the builders and the enterprises of the construction materials industry. All this needs to be resolved urgently and in a businesslike manner.

And finally, about satisfying the demand for consumer goods and developing the trade and service sphere—the changes that have taken shape here do not eradicate the main problems. The supply of goods and services continues to lag behind the growth in purchasing power of the population, something which is to no small extent caused by neglect of this sphere and by the attitude toward it. Much depends on the operation of light industry. Today we are, as they say, reaping the fruits of the protracted disregard for the development of this

sector. Obsolete equipment is being used at its enterprises. A great deal of the heavy work is being done manually. All this has an effect on productivity, the quantity and quality of output, and cadre stability. Now measures have been adopted that are called upon to correct the situation here. Large amounts of money have been allocated. The enterprises are being modernized, using both Soviet and imported equipment.

But there are other reasons as well. The slow intensification of consumer goods output can largely be explained by our badly arranged economic mechanism and by the poor incentives. Most of the union ministries enterprises and departments that are called upon to provide the market with consumer durables regard this as a secondary task. They are using all kinds of pretexts in an attempt to get out of tackling it. We are faced with the task of creating a modern and mighty industry to produce consumer goods. This not only applies to light industry but the defense factories and heavy industry enterprises whose contribution to the production and supply of consumer goods should be decisively increased.

This is not just a question of quantitative but of qualitative indicators as well. Special responsibility for the provision of goods and services lies with the local bodies. In the republics and oblasts there are quite a few examples of real initiative and enterprise, and in satisfying the market with goods by exploiting local potential.

All the same, in many regions the free-ride mentality is too strong, as are attempts to wheedle funds even for those goods that could perfectly well be produced locally. Such a stance is unforgiveable, now that broad-ranging opportunities have opened up for developing cooperative and individual labor activity. In those places where this was understood in good time and the necessary conditions set up, the results are obvious: new goods and types of services are emerging as a result and this can only be welcomed. In brief, attitudes to this matter, which affects the people's vital interests, should be fundamentally altered both at the center and at the local level.

Comrades, in reviewing the progress of restructuring, the issue of how the radical economic reform is being implemented needs to be singled out in particular. The transfer of enterprises to financial autonomy, and to self-financing and self-management, is giving collectives a chance to get a real feel both for their new rights and the difficult burden of responsibility. While the reform is taking only its first steps and the new economic management methods are only being mastered, they are already beginning to have a positive effect on the solution to many production and social problems and on the atmosphere as a whole within the collectives.

This year, the enterprises working in the new way have not only ensured that the plan for production output was met, but have also significantly improved their economic indicators. This is highly noteworthy.

However, today, the main thing is to draw lessons from the difficulties of the initial stage of the reform. Practice has revealed problems leading to the new economic mechanism marking time. To a certain extent these are linked to the fact that not all its elements have yet been introduced and that we began to implement the reform, as they say, on the move, during the 5-year plan, under conditions when the structural positions of the plan were already determined and when obsolete prices and the old centralized methods of distributing resources were being preserved. This goes to explain a great deal—a great deal but far from everything.

The difficulties that have arisen have been generated to a great extent by the tenacity of the stereotypes of economic management, the desire to preserve the habitual command-administrative methods of running the economy, and resistance to the new on the part of some of the management staff. In a number of cases we are coming up against direct attempts to distort the essence of the reform, and to fill new forms of management with the old content. Deviations from the letter and spirit of the law on the enterprise, because of which it is not being implemented to the full, as many economic planners admit, are being allowed quite often by ministries and departments. The experience of working out enterprise plans for this year, when the old system of binding targets for production volume was effectively preserved under the guise of the state orders, tells us about this.

This is nothing but the result of arbitrariness by ministries where the proper control is missing, or with the connivance of Gosplan and the standing bodies of the USSR Council of Ministers. It is quite unacceptable for enterprises to be ordered by the state to produce output that is not in demand by consumers. They are forced to do it simply in order to achieve the notorious gross output. This diktat was given even in regard to large collectives like Uralmash, Altayselmash, the Kurgan Wheeled Tractor Works, and the Baku Tire Works, not to mention a mass of medium and small enterprises. (?How) many people there are here who are faithful servants of His Majesty Gross Output!

Is there any need to prove that this fundamentally contradicts the meaning of the reform and is the same as preserving those management methods that led our economy into a dead end? It would seem that it must be clear to all now that there is not and will not be any return to the former ways. Nevertheless, you sometimes hear the opinion even now that if pressure is not applied on an enterprise with a plan, it will allegedly not attempt to improve its economic indices. At first glance, it might seem that there is some sort of justification for these views. However, real life says something else. I will cite just one instance in this connection. Many people were worried that expanding the rights of enterprises, that narrowing the circle of indices from directives, would lead to a lowering of plan indices and a need to reconsider the tasks of the 5-year plan.

Indeed, the sum of the plans for profit adopted for this year by industrial enterprises which have gone over to complete financial autonomy, turned out to be R4.5 billion lower than the control figures. Several zealous aficionados of the old methods rubbed their hands with a certain amount of schadenfreude: This, they said, is what the desire to depend only on economic levers and stimuli leads to. But how did things work out in practice? This is how: In 5 months of this year these enterprises overfulfilled their plans for profit by R2.5 billion. And the increment among labor collectives working in complete financial autonomy amounted to 12.8 percent as against 10.2 percent at enterprises functioning in the old way. Here it is important that the increase in profit was achieved mainly thanks to lowering the production cost and reducing expenditure on materials.

I will say outright that the recent results of this for our economy have been very unusual. It deserves to be thought over attentively and comprehensively. What can be said on this subject? Obviously effective stimuli have not yet been created in the economic mechanism for enterprises to take on higher plan tasks. We need to think about this. But in the final analysis, what is important to us, comrades, is the end result. If the economic mechanism has started to work and is ensuring an improvement in real results, then that is exactly what is needed.

It is an instructive lesson. It should finally prompt the planning organs to decisively reconsider their approach to planning, to transfer the center of gravity from exerting pressure with a plan to economic levers and stimuli.

Experience shows, comrades, that the progress of economic reform requires constant attention from the CPSU Central Committee and the government. It must be acknowledged that they uncovered distortion concerning state orders only belatedly. The signals coming in were not appreciated in time nor as they should have been. This error is now being corrected. Government decisions will be adopted very soon on procedures for using state orders.

Also at the center of attention for the working collectives and management bodies in the initial stage of reform were issues concerning the formation of economic norms. Here, too, there were attempts by ministries and departments to retain dictatorial methods regarding enterprises. Many ministries tried to establish norms by which they could retain the possibility of redistributing means from enterprises working well to benefit inefficient ones. No doubt today, taking into account the different starting potential of the working collectives moving onto the road of financial autonomy and self-recouping, such a redistribution can, to a degree, be explained but the main tasks of norms lies elsehwere: to provide a direct link between income and final results in such a way that any improvement in the collective's work is encouraged by an increase in its income.

We cannot tolerate any open or concealed forms of the free-ride mentality or the possibility of living quite well while working badly. You know, comrades, the practice of leveling-off has a very strong grip on our psychology and economic practice. Chase it out the door, as they say, and it will come in through the window. We meet this same problem in the wage reform. The initial results of this seem to be promising. In collectives that have transferred to the new conditions, labor productivity has gone up and payment for it has increased. However, here, too, leveling is persisting. An enterprise gains the right of suitably rewarding good workers and lowering the wages of idlers, poor workers, and loafers. Nonetheless, this rule is being used timidly and according to the principle of not offending anyone. In the activity of labor collectives we have not yet overcome approaches inherited from the period of stagnation, whereby workers, technicians, and engineers, who set an example of creative, highly efficient and, on occasion, unique work have had artificially restricted wages.

Certain normative documents about this also deserve a critical attitude. Surely it is not still necessary to prove that the most efficient way of eradicating tendencies toward excessive leveling is consistent implementation of the principles of financial autonomy, not just in the activity of the working collectives but in all subdivisions and in every job. Putting it simply: Reform will not get off the ground or give the results we are banking on unless the personal interests of literally every worker are profoundly affected and unless it becomes a vital concern for him. One of the main directions of the radical economic reform is the broad development of the cooperative movement. These issues were fairly thoroughly discussed at the congress of kolkhoz workers and at the Supreme Soviet session that endorsed the Law on the Cooperative System.

Thus, we have basically completed the creation of the necessary prerequisites for its comprehensive development. The Central Committee uses as its starting point the fact that the rise of the cooperative movement opens up broad opportunities for resolving many vitally important problems of society. We have given the development of the cooperative movement the same significance and the same role as Vladimir Ilich Lenin assigned to it. The center of gravity is now shifting to the area of practical matters, and it is the straightforward duty of the local soviets and the party organizations to support in every possible way the aspiration of the working people to make an increasing contribution to the cause of restructuring on the basis of the cooperative movement.

Comrades, the economic form would be implemented considerably better if conservatism were not so vibrant within the management apparatus. The administration, by issuing injunctions and commands, is obstinately clinging to its positions. During the practical implementation of reform we have a real sense of the opposing

forces of inertia and that sometimes leads to the adopting of ambivalent, compromise, and sometimes mistaken decisions. It is indeed a fact, comrades, that under the guise of creating state production enterprises an attempt was made to revive the system of the former bureaucratic ministerial central administrations. Thus, it was intended to substitute the idea of the voluntary association of independent enterprises with rigidly centralized organization, while preserving departmental barriers and inflated management apparatus.

Both in the center and in the localities there are quite a few such workers who will not accept the new forms of management, the conditions of democratization, and economic reform. This manifested itself also during the reduction of the management apparatus of union and republican ministries and departments and oblast and kray level management bodies.

What must be said about this? For us this is a matter of principle. We must firmly conduct the line of reducing numbers and cost of the apparatus, and raising the efficiency of its work. At the same time we must make sure that the people being released from their jobs as a result of these measures do not settle in other offices, but go into production, the service sector, cooperatives, commerce, municipal services, the places where there is a real staff shortage. We see that even a brief analysis of the processes connected with the start of reform shows what a difficult matter this is, and what great undiluted attention it demands.

Yes, there are difficulties. They are not ruled out in the future either. But reform embraces increasingly wide spheres of the economy and is demonstrating its vitality. Taking into consideration the experience which has been accumulated, we must carefully prepare for completing the transition of all enterprises in the material production sphere to the new economic conditions as of the start of 1989. That is a very serious matter. There is nothing trivial about it, for the reform will touch more and more millions of working people.

The biggest mistake in the past, which we must in no way repeat is office-based preparation of enterprises for work in the new conditions. It is indeed in those places were the working people and the councils of labor collectives have remained apart from the implementation of reform, where everything has been decided in secret from above, that the most serious blunders have been discovered and that many unforeseen difficulties have arisen. And that has been reflected in the social well-being of people and their attitude to reform.

The experience of this year has confirmed our understanding of the need to accelerate the transition to wholesale trade in means of production. What are we observing today? For those who have switched to financial autonomy and self-financing, wholesale trade is not only desireable but also vitally necessary. From the start of next year all enterprises in the sphere of material production will work in financial autonomy, so that we must obviously adopt a new approach to dates for switching to wholesale trade in means of production in order not to drag this out over many years but to complete it within the framework of the current 5-year plan.

I think that both Gosplan and Gossnab will put forth concrete proposals on this account. Of course, much now rests on the reform of price formation. By this I mean the review of wholesale, procurement, and retail prices and rates. The fact that this problem is unsolved is greatly complicating the implementation of economic reform. Without price reform, we cannot, we will not be able to create normal economic relations in the national economy, ensure a well-founded evaluation of the costs and results of production and equivalence in the exchange of goods and services, stimulate scientific and technical progress and savings of resources, normalize the situation in the marketplace, and implement a just distribution according to labor.

For instance, how can the economy be economically run when prices for raw materials and fuel are artificially reduced? This simply must not be done. Or another question: While receiving high profits on one group of goods, at the same time the state is forced to pay out tens of billions of rubles in subsidies from the budget on another group of goods. At the same time, it is well known that both low subsidized prices and unjustifiably high prices do not stimulate growth in production and have an extremely negative effect on scientific and technological progress. It should also be stressed that reforming price formation will not in itself improve the economic situation if the questions of financial balancing, putting in order of the credit financing system and banking activity, the budget and so on are not resolved at the same time. Therefore, reforming price formation should be closely linked with implementing the program for financially improving the national economy. This, in its turn, is linked to the financial situation in every enterprise and with the work of every working collective; this, too, must not be forgotten.

The reform of price formation cannot fail to affect retail prices as well, since these are closely linked to the entire price system. Retail prices for many foodstuffs, and particularly meat and milk, are considerably lower today than the real outlay on their production and their procurement prices. The state is forced to make up this difference in the form of subsidies to the consumer. Such a situation is not a normal one. It undermines incentives to produce these goods and gives rise to thriftlessness toward them, particularly toward bread. Comrades, we are aware of all this and it is therefore simply essential that we deal with this task, however difficult it might be and whatever doubts and fears it might arouse at first sight. The issue of retail prices is now being worked out in a serious manner. Proposals on this will be put to comprehensive discussion by the people. There should be one approach here: Changes in retail prices should in

no way be accompanied by a drop in people's standard of living. The issue is posed in this way: The finances currently paid out by the state in the form of subsidies will be given to the population in full in the form of compensation.

Thus, the state will obtain no direct financial gain from revising retail prices and the public will lose nothing. What we are talking about is creating a healthier situation in the national economy and more favorable conditions for the action of economic levers and incentives; for increasing production and enhancing quality of output; for saturating the market as quickly as possible with food products. In the framework of restructuring, and taking into account the implementation of radical economic reform, much work has been done on reinterpreting external economic policy. Here, too, the need has been felt for fundamentally new approaches which enable us to make better use of the advantages of the international divison of labor. The enterprises and associations now have open to them possibilities of broad access to the external market, of establishing direct external economic links, and of setting up joint enterprises. As before, we are giving priority to relations with socialist countries. Together with our friends, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, we are tackling the accomplishment of the key tasks of scientific-technical progress and of the development of modern forms of economic cooperation within CEMA. We see long-term prospects in the transition to free convertibility of the ruble and in the shaping of a single socialist market. We will also try to resolve the question of external economic links with the capitalist and developing countries on a basis of mutual benefit. Here, too, a course has been set toward strong integrated cooperation in science, technology, and production, based on various forms of international coproduction and specialization.

Comrades, in summing up the initial results of economic reform, we must think not only of how to fulfill the current 5-year plan. It is of fundamental importance to make use of the lessons of the first years of restructuring in order to work out a strategy for the future, above all for the 13th 5-Year Plan. In the Central Committee and in the government, the common view is forming that in the concept of the 13th 5-Year Plan and subsequent development, the country must be more deeply and consistently, ah...[Gorbachev hesitates and starts again] And the subsequent development of the country, the line of the April Plenum of the Central Committee and of the 27th party congress toward the social reorientation of our economy must be more strongly and consistently pursued. [sentence as heard] That means, above all, satisfying people's requirements for fully adequate food products; saturating the market with consumer goods and services in the required range and of high quality; carrying out housing construction programs; and improving public health, education, and culture. Among the priority tasks is stepping up efforts to protect the natural environment and radically improve the country's ecological situation. Only with such an approach can we settle the debts remaining from the period of stagnation and steer our economy onto the lines of healthy development in the interests of the people.

The social reorientation of economic development and increasing the proportion of consumption in the national income must become the pivot of our entire structural and investment policy and the keystone for shaping the pace and proportions of the economy.

Today it is clear that profound changes are needed, taking in the national economy as a whole, beginning with the services sphere and ending with heavy industry and the defense industry. The CPSU Central Committee is counting on the conference supporting such changes. In connection with this one ought to discuss another matter. This concerns the criteria and indicators of economic development. It is not for the first time that we are saying that rates of growth in themselves are not important, but it is fulfilling them in real terms, really satisfying the needs of the people. What is the sense of an increase in the output from raw material production, and fuel and power generating industries if it is eaten up by irrational and wasteful use of resources? Or who needs an increase in the output of agricultural machines if they are not bought because of their poor efficiency? Light industry does not need gross output, nor volume of production in itself, but the kind of goods selection that would meet the people's real demand.

We still cannot renounce the old approaches. We do not need simply millions of tonnes of steel, millions of tonnes of cement, millions of tonnes of coal; we need specific end results. How long must we go round in a vicious circle of hopelessly obsolete ideas and formulas? Production for the sake of production, and the plan for the sake of the plan.

It is essential for the State Planning Committee and the USSR Academy of Sciences to draw up proposals on this matter on the basis of the 13th 5-Year Plan, whereby planning would be conducted and the results of economic development assessed. Such, comrades, are some of the results of our work in the socioeconomic sphere; such are the contradictions and problems of the initial phase of radical economic reforms; such are some thoughts for the immediate and more distant future.

Comrades, restructuring, the renewal of socialism, are inconceivable without invigorating in every possible way the intellectual and spiritual potential of society contained in science, education, and culture. However, this statement on its own means very little. One has to act, and act vigorously and on a large scale, taking into account the fact that huge worldwide efforts are being concentrated precisely in this direction, and that the flow of capital investment to this is increasing appreciably. At the very beginning of restructuring the task was submitted of drastically changing the priorities, raising the role of the spiritual sphere, and overcoming the way it had

been undervalued. A lot has changed here. A new political atmosphere has arisen of openness, freedom, creativity, and discussion, an objective and unbiased analysis, criticism and self-criticism. A genuine revolution of consciousness is going on without which the creation of new life is impossible.

The party attaches great importance to our scientists' contribution to restructuring. The Central Committee Theses stress that at the basis of the party's economic and social strategy is the acceleration of scientific and economic progress, primarily mastering the achievements of its present-day stage connected with the development of the vanguard technologies—microelectronics, robot technology, information science, biotechnology, and so on.

Positive changes have taken place in science and technology. The demands on technical standards of production have been raised and the time frame for assimilation of new and progressive research has been reduced. Major measures have been adopted to change the system of planning, financing, and material provision for research and development, for accelerated utilization of scientific achievements in practice, and for stimulating scientific work. These measures have had a positive influence, but so far we have still not managed to change the situation radically. This situation has proved to be particularly complicated in basic research, which determines the prospects for science and scientific-technological progress.

As before, there is the effect of many impeding factors inherited from the time of the domination of command-administrative methods of management, when science often had imposed on it areas of research which did not stem from the logic of its own development, and, on the contrary, many new and promising areas of research did not receive timely support or were even prohibited. The way that a number of well-grounded goals were set did not provide for them materially or organizationally, and this compromised scientific policy as a whole. Science was not included to the necessary degree in the nationwide planning system as an integral component, without which the development and implementation of socioeconomic policy in the broadest sense of that word is not possible. Scientists were rarely brought in to give expert opinions on projects, decisions, and plans, and their opinion, if it diverged from the interests of departments, was ignored and sometimes even persecuted.

As a result, the social status of science and the prestige of scientific work have clearly declined in recent decades. The most disturbing thing is that in the years of stagnation, Soviet science fell behind in a number of leading areas. Scientific development emerged as an attempt to catch up. It is an abnormal circumstance that only 6.5 percent of all the funds allocated for scientific research go to the academic sector of science, which carries out the bulk of basic research. That is why it is today insufficient merely to rectify all these mistakes and omissions in science policy; the matter concerns a profound restructuring, the breaking up of many structures of the economic mechanism that have become fixed, and the improvement of the internal relationships within science itself.

We must create a qualitatively new Soviet scientific potential, without which it is not possible to achieve a breakthrough in basic research on a short timescale, and on this basis successfully implement the whole set of planned programs for the socioeconomic restructuring of our society. Decisive measures are required in further improving the management of scientific-technological progress and in overcoming departmental barriers. One way is the formation of intersectoral scientific-technological complexes, engineering centers and ad hoc collectives for acomplishing tasks. Also of much importance is the organic involvement of scientific organizations in the system of financial autonomy relations, which has begun, and the creation of a complete cycle of scientific research, technology and techniques, investment, production, marketing, and service.

It is clear that the potential of basic and applied science is accumulated over years and decades; however, factors also exist for accelerating scientific development. These are, above all, democratizing the atmosphere of science and overcoming bureaucratism, guidance by administrative order, conservatism, and monopolism. It is necessary to open up scope for the greatest possible manifestation of talent, creative initiative, self-management, rivalry on the basis of equal rights, and competition between scientific ideas and opinions. A number of scientists are also posing the question of expediency in diversifying the methods of organizing science and of adopting a sensible combination of state and cooperative forms.

The development of social sciences requires particular attention. It is precisely they which suffered most from the personality cult, from bureaucratic management methods, dogmatism, and incompetent interference. As we know, a noticeable revival in social science research occurred after the 20th CPSU Congress and new scientific areas and new cadres of scientists capable of conducting affairs in a new style appeared. However, self-willed approaches to the formulation of the tasks of thought in social sciences and dogmatic methods of solving them soon began to pick up again. An acute social need for research in social sciences has arisen within conditions for restructuring. We need a genuine upturn in social sciences on a Marxist-Leninist philosophical and methodological basis. There is a need for objective scientific research on such problems of restructuring as the economic reform and the reconstruction of political thinking. In other words, society, which is proceeding toward its qualitatively new condition, needs an integral concept for development, a view of the dialectics of the processes and contradictory nature of their reflection in the mass consciousness, taking into account a pluralism of opinions, and the elaboration of

scientifically-grounded prospects. The party sees its task as stimulating a creative search in social sciences and encouraging growth in the theoretical arsenal of restructuring.

However, radical changes in the attitude to science are necessary. Science which finds no appreciation sooner or later dies; and practice, with such an attitude to scientific knowledge, grows blind and enfeebled. All this is unacceptable to us. So, when we make requests of scientists, we must show greater trust and create all the necessary conditions for creativity and the search for new things. The problems of scientific and technical progress must be viewed in the general context of social development. Accordingly, primary attention should be paid, scientists believe, to analyzing the problems of the interface of various sciences—natural, technical, and social. Close coordination among them is today ensuring revolutionary breakthroughs in all areas of the development of science and technology. Accordingly, there is a need for greater influence by social research throughout the whole range of scientific and technical progress and its human dimension.

In drawing lessons from the past, we need to get social examination of scientific technical and engineering projects going in a real way and on a large scale, with the participation of broad circles among the public, in order to minimize or even exclude entirely the ecological and human costs, which are possible if these projects are designed and implemented without control.

In the last 3 years the process of growing awareness of the huge role of education as one of the basic factors in economic and social progress and spiritual renewal has been taking place actively in the party and in society. We have critically evaluated the situation in this field, too, and worked out a program for changes in the educational process. A great deal of extra money is being directed here, and the computerization of the learning process is being developed significantly. The salary of teachers has been raised. Of course, expenditure on education and science is great, but the price for lagging behind would be incomparably greater. Without high quality education, scientific research, and general professional standards, without all this we cannot achieve the aims of restructuring.

We need to create all the conditions for the new generation of Soviet people to have, as they enter conscious labor and political life, a high degree of ideology and morality, a good knowledge of their profession and a wide cultural horizon, and to be ready to take on themselves responsibility for the country's fate.

Soviet cultural figures are called on to play a great role in the socialist renewal of our society. Consolidating creative forces on the platform of restructuring has been the party's practical task in the post-April period. We can state today that the administrative direction of culture and edifying lectures addressed to artists are things of the past. In the spiritual sphere, an atmosphere of competitiveness and of free creative search is gradually being built up, based on the civil responsibility of artists to their socialist society.

Artistic culture is a living link to the succession of the generations. It helps a person to feel at one with his people, their history, and their hopes for the future, and it lays the groundwork for any practical activity and for lofty moral ideals. Our journalistic, artistic, and scientific publications are conducting a discussion—unprecedented in scale, frankness, and intellectual meatiness—on the ways to renew socialism and on contemporary history. This is remarkable.

The party highly values the growing contribution of the intelligentsia to the implementation of restructuring. We welcome the stepping up of public and political activity by representatives of science, education, and culture. We await new creative discoveries and a large breakthrough in all spheres of thought and spirit from them. As a whole, cultural processes are developing on a healthy foundation.

However, we would be guilty of lacking objectivity and sinning against the truth if we said that they are proceeding without contradictions and without excesses which sometimes go beyond the limits of socialist values. Both in society as a whole and among the intelligentsia, conservatism and nonacceptance of innovations are manifested. There is also superficiality in assessing the events that are occurring and even irresponsibility in the approach to the complex problems of our development. Unfortunately, one sometimes has to observe that some comrades, even at this fateful time for the country, are somehow incapable of giving up infighting, group passions, and personal ambitions. There are also quite a few of those who view the creative search with irritation and regard the growing diversity as a deviation from the principles of socialist art. This is understandable: For too long uniformity, monotonous sameness, and mediocrity were presented as the yardstick of progress.

We still do not have the habit of discussion, dissidence, and free contention. I would not like to dramatize the situation, and there are no particular grounds to do so. But it would not be reasonable to fail to note such phenomena and to pass over them in silence.

If we speak of the main trends in science, education, and culture in the period of restructuring, they are seen as a return to Leninist principles, a turning toward man, toward the spiritual enrichment of the people. The party sees its task in stepping up efforts for the sake of this humane goal.

Comrades, restructuring in the USSR has become a factor of world significance. The cardinal changes in our own house have also required new approaches to international affairs. In assessing Soviet foreign policy in the postwar period we do not forget that imperialism created

around us and our allies an actual emergency situation. The Western military bloc led by the United States behaved with open aggression toward socialism. The military threat to us was constant. It has not been removed to this day. The Soviet Union, however, together with its allies, simply could not but react to this, as well as to the single-minded psychological war against socialist countries. Nonetheless, in learning lessons from the past it is impossible not to admit that the command-administrative methods did not bypass the foreign policy sphere either.

It even happened that decisions of major importance were made by a narrow circle of persons, without a collective, all-round examination and analysis, and sometimes without due consultation with our friends. This led to an inadequate reaction to international events and to the policies of other states, and even to erroneous decisions. Unfortunately, it was not always weighed up what one or another option for action would cost the people or what it could result in. In response to the nuclear challenge thrown down to us and to the whole socialist world, it was essential to achieve strategic parity with the United States. That was done.

However, having concentrated on the military aspect of confronting imperialism, we did not always use the huge sums and attention to ensure the state's security, to reduce tension in the mutual understanding among the peoples, or to take advantage of the political opportunities that opened up in connection with the fundamental changes occurring in the world. As a result, we allowed ourselves to be drawn into the arms race, which could not fail to have an effect on the country's socioeconomic development and on its international position. The arms race, moreover, was coming close to the critical point.

Against that background our traditional political and social activity in favor of peace and disarmament began to become less convincing. To put it more pointedly, if this development had not been restrained by logic, we could indeed have found ourselves on the brink of a military confrontation. This is why not simply an improvement in foreign policy was needed, but a decisive renewal of it.

For that a new type of political thinking was required. The foundation for this was laid at the 27th party congress. It provided our international activity, in the context of restructuring, with a new philosophical basis. The new thinking is not a closed and completed doctrine. It is dialectical. It allows policies to be constantly improved and developed in keeping with the course of real life. And this, of course, is in keeping with our socialist choice, with Leninist principles. In the same way, in internal affairs the Soviet leadership turned to Lenin, to his experience: everywhere, in any situation to act from a position of realism.

Only a policy like that can effectively serve restructuring. Only in that case can it count on a realistic attitude on the part of those to whom it is addressed. Only in this capacity does it acquire the ability to assist in saving the world from impending thrusts. In analyzing the world today we have formed a clearer idea that international relations, without losing their class nature, are being increasingly realized as relations among people. We have taken into account the greater role in world affairs of peoples, nations, and the new national formations that are emerging. Given that situation in international affairs, one cannot fail to take into account the variety of interests. Taking them into account is an important element in new political thinking.

The growing nuclear threat and the increasing aggravation of other global problems are typical of the modern era. The increasing internationalization of all processes in the world is becoming increasingly integral and interconnected, despite its contradictory nature. We have tried to interpret in greater depth the idea initially founded in Marxism of the interconnection of the proletarian and class interest with that common to all mankind.

This has led us to a conclusion on the priority of values common to all mankind in our age. This is where the core of the new political thinking lies. It has allowed us to evaluate on a larger scale the vital significance, for contemporary international relations, of moral values, which have over the course of centuries been worked out by peoples and pooled and elaborated by the great minds of mankind.

In analyzing the fundamental changes in the world, many stereotypes that have fettered our potential and have, to a certain extent, provided opportunities to those who were engaged in distorting our real intentions are being overcome. A major role was played by our moving out to broad contacts with representatives of other countries, from heads of state and government to ordinary citizens, with generally acknowledged authorities in science and culture, with outstanding writers, with leaders and delegations of political parties, voluntary organizations and movements, with trade union and social democratic leaders, and with religious figures and parliamentarians.

Such a richness of direct communication, as it were, reopens the Soviet Union to the outside world. And we, for our part have received the possibility of better seeing and understanding the surrounding world, taking part in discussion of its problems and in the search for an approach to resolving them, deriving what is useful from ideas stemming from other cultures and spiritual traditions, which found expression, for example, in the Delhi Declaration of 1986. With the aid of this feedback, it has become easier to find mutual understanding on the significance of such values as freedom and democracy.

All this has provided Soviet foreign policy with dynamism and has made it possible to advance a whole number of major initiatives.

These include the program for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the system for general security, freedom of choice, balance of interests, the common European home, restructuring of relations in the Asia-Pacific region, defense sufficiency and the doctrine of nonaggression, the reduction of the level of armaments as a path to the strengthening of national and regional security, the recall of troops and bases from other people's territories, confidence-building measures, international economic security, and the idea of directly involving the authority of science in world politics. Dialogue, and—in the sphere of disarmament—a readiness for deep mutual control are at the heart of our contacts through interstate channels.

This has made it possible to extend the range of trust far beyond the boundaries of the normal world outlook. We have discovered considerable potential for mutual understanding and a readiness for coexistence and cooperation, even in influential circles that are very far from us ideologically. Our sincere open invitations to engage in joint thinking and quests have received a great response throughout the world.

Glasnost and restructuring are imparting material persuaviness to our foreign policy ideas and initiatives. This approach has made possible major breakthroughs in world politics, above all in disarmament, such as at Geneva and Reykjavik, which provided real movement to the negotiating process and predetermined the success of the summits in Washington and Moscow. As a result, the entire international situation is changing.

In the context of the new thinking there has been an examination of socialism's position in the world. Together with our friends, we have tried in a comradely way to free the internationalist essence of our relations from the accretions of the past. Personal contacts between leaders of parties and states have been revitalized and have become businesslike and frequent. Coordination of the socialist community's foreign policy is being perfected. World socialism is living through a difficult and crucial period. The attainment of new frontiers by the socialist countries and the revealing of their potential in national and international frameworks are raising the prestige and the role of socialism in world development.

A key place in the new thinking is occupied by the concept of free choice. We are convinced of the universality of this principle for international relations, when the very survival of civilization has become the main worldwide problem. This concept has been brought about by the unprecedented and growing diversity in the world. We are witnessing a phenomenon such as the active inclusion in world history of billions of people who for centuries remained outside its bounds. These billions of people are emerging on the stage of independent historical creativity in totally new conditions. In a setting of mounting national self-awareness everywhere, they will still have their say in seeking their own choice of path.

In this situation, the imposition from outside by any means—not to mention military means—of a social system, way of life, or policy constitutes the dangerous armor of past years. Sovereignty, independence, equal rights, and noninterference are becoming the generally acknowledged norms of international relations, which is in itself a major gain for the 20th century. Resisting freedom of choice means placing yourself in opposition to the objective course of history itself. This is why the policy of force in all its forms and manifestations has historically outlived itself.

In a word, we are profoundly convinced that the new thinking and the policies based on it correctly reflect the pressing requirements and imperatives of the world today. They have revived hope and opened the way to qualitative changes in mankind's awarness. As the Central Committee Theses emphasize, we can give an unconditional yes in answer to the question that worries Soviet people most of all and on which they wish to hear an appraisal of the result of work over the 3 years: Has it been possible to remove the threat of war?

How is this expressed? It is expressed above all in the fact that the axis of international life is moving from confrontation to cooperation, mutual understanding, and talks with the prospects of reaching specific results, primarily regarding weapons of mass destruction.

Soviet-U.S. relations have improved. A treaty has been concluded to eliminate some nuclear arms. The all-European process has been revitalized at the interstate level, and particularly at that of the public. The Geneva accords and the withdrawal of our troop contingent from Afghanistan, which has begun already, are important international landmarks in the matter of political settlements to regional conflicts, which are fraught with danger for the world as a whole and hold up the peoples' progress.

From the rostrum of our party conference, on behalf of the party and the people, may I once again express profound gratitude to the soldiers, officers, and civilians and all those whose fate has been touched and who have been hurt by this war. [applause] Our troops are leaving Afghanistan at the behest of the motherland which has shown wisdom, having over those years acquired new political and moral experience, a more profound understanding of the modern world, its contradictions and difficulties, on the way to the future.

All in all, comrades, an analysis of existing realities enables us to suppose that if it is possible to strengthen and develop these realities, then the world at the turn of the century will be determined by the following trends:

gradual demilitarization and humanization of international relations, when reason, knowledge, and moral standards rather than egotistical striving and prejudices finally move states to resolve the many contradictions in the world and achieve a balance of interests, and when the right of everyone to freedom of choice is recognized. Guaranteeing the security of states will move more and more out of the sphere of the correlation of military potentials to that of political interaction and strict compliance with international obligations.

A comprehensive system of international security will be formed, chiefly by increasing the role and efficiency of the United Nations Organization. The colossal growth of scientific and technical potential will be exploited in a more civilized way for the joint good of all mankind and to solve global economic, ecological, power, food, medical, and other problems. Varied and voluntary association between independent states and peoples will mutually enrich them reliably, materially, and spiritually, and will strengthen the structure of universal peace.

Are there no illusions here? Have imperialist sources of aggression and wars really vanished? No. We are not forgetting the threat to peace from imperialist militarism and we believe that for the moment no guarantees have been provided for the irreversibility of the positive processes that have begun. The new political thinking allows precisely for the spotting and discovery of new opportunities for opposing the politics of force on a political basis that is wider than before. These opportunities are strengthened by new objective factors that have emerged in the second half of this century. It is this that determines our defense development, the efficiency of which must from now on be determined predominantly by qualitative parameters regarding both technology and military science and the makeup of the armed forces. It should ensure reliable security for the Soviet state and its allies and be implemented in strict accordance with our defense doctrine.

We will continue to look for ways to secure peace and international cooperation through our international political activity. Relations with the socialist countries will continue to be at the forefront in the future. We will consistently follow a policy of strengthening our relations with the developing countries and the Nonaligned Movement and have active dialogue and talks with state figures authorized by their countries, above all on the focus of world politics: disarmament.

During the years of restructuring, we have improved or set up relations for the first time with a large number of states, both neighboring and very distant, and with no one have we spoiled relations. We will try to act this way in the future as well. The CPSU regards itself as an inseparable part of the world communist movement, which is now conducting a difficult search for a way out onto a new stage in its historical development. Based on the foundations of full equality and respect, we will actively participate in this search. There is increasing international potential in our new relations with numerous public forces, representing world science and culture, with political parties and new ideological tendencies, above all with Socialists, Social Democrats, members of labor parties, and other so-called left-wing circles and movements. Our solidarity with the workers of the whole world, with those struggling against colonialism, racism, and reaction remains immutable. Comrades, notwithstanding certain mistakes and errors in the past, Soviet foreign policy as a whole has rendered great services to the country, to socialism, and to the whole of humanity.

Restructuring has demanded new qualities of it, both in essence and in form. Just as in domestic policy, it must in practice absorb the collective thought of the party and the people and directly take into consideration not only the changes under way, but also foreseeable ones. The objective processes in the world and our potential should become the subject of constant scientific and public discussion with the participation of the public and its organizations. The quality of information on international issues must be raised by an order of magnitude.

Within the framework of reforming the political system, an effective mechanism with full constitutional powers for the businesslike and qualified discussion of international political issues must be created.

Comrades, by presenting the program for radical democratization of public and political life and reform of the political system for discussion by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, the CPSU Central Committee believes that this will make it possible to radically raise the effectiveness of our political institutions and reveal the potential of socialist sovereignty of the people. We are beginning this work not from scratch, not out of nothing. Behind us we have the unique experience of the first socialist democracy in the world. The forms and methods of sovereignty of the people, engendered by socialism, have had an immense influence on the social progress of humanity and have become a part of contemporary political culture. It was in our country that the power of the workers—embodied in the republic of soviets, workers control, the right to work, and other most important social rights of the individual, and the equality of women and men, nations, and nationalities—was born. In other words, we were the first in many democratic undertakings of the 20th century.

So why is the task of radically reforming the political system being advanced today? Comrades, above all, the fact of the matter is—and we must admit this today—that at a certain stage the political system, created as a result of the victory of the October Revolution, was seriously deformed.

As a result, the absolute power of Stalin and his entourage and the wave of repressions and illegality became possible. The administrative command methods of management which developed in those years had a pernicious effect on various aspects of our society's development. Many of the difficulties we are experiencing now

have their roots in that system. The decisions of the 20th party congress raised possibilities for overcoming the violation of Leninist principles of party and state life.

Those possibilities, however, were not utilized, mainly because the significance of socialist democracy was underestimated and disparaged. This once again led to a recurrence of cult phenomena. The existing political system proved incapable of preserving us from the buildup of the manifestations of stagnation in the economic and social life of recent decades, and doomed to failure the reforms that were undertaken at that time. The ever greater concentration of economic management functions in the hands of the party political leadership became characteristic, while at the same time the role of the executive apparatus was hypertrophied. The number of persons elected to the various state and public bodies increased until it comprised a third of the adult population of the country; yet at the same time, the great mass of the population was removed from real participation in deciding the affairs of state and society.

In the period of stagnation, the administrating apparatus proliferated to almost 100 union ministries and departments and 800 republican ones, and in effect began dictating its will with regard to both the economy and to policy. It was the departments and other administrative structures that had the responsibility of executing the decisions that had been made. It was their action or inaction that determined what should happen or not happen. The soviets, and in many respects the party bodies, found themselves unable to control the pressure of departmental interests. It became a universal rule that the body that made a decision bore no economic responsibility for the consequences of its actions.

A further serious shortcoming of the established political system was that public life was excessively dominated by the state. Of course, the tasks and functions of the state under socialism are considerably wider than in the conditions that exist under capitalism. However, according to the thought of the founder of Marxism-Leninism, that expansion of administrative functions must be achieved not by strengthening the power that rests on orders, on decrees, and on coercion, but above all by activating the democratic factor and involving the broad masses of the people in governing.

Let us recall Lenin's well-known definition of the socialist state as being no longer a state in the proper sense of the word, or even as a half-state which is gradually developing into public self-government. Unfortunately, after Lenin's death, what prevailed—in theory, and indeed in practice also—was the approach to the state in the full, that is to say, the old sense of that concept. Regulation by the state was extended to an inordinately wide sphere of public activity. The striving to take detailed centralized planning and control into every nook and cranny of life literally swaddled society and became a serious inhibition to people's initiative and that of public organizations and collectives.

Among other things, this has given rise to a shadow economy and culture, taking advantage of the inability of state bodies to satisfy the public's material and spiritual requirements promptly and completely. The bureaucratization of state structures and the weakening of the masses' social creativity have accustomed society to thinking in terms of a single option and static thinking. An oversimplified, curtailed image of socialist people's power, whereby actual wielding of power is identified not with active political activity by the workers but first and foremost with executive bodies, has formed and so far continues to influence people's awareness.

Finally, the existing political system has for decades been adapting itself not to the organization of public life within the framework of the laws, but chiefly to fulfilling self-willed directions and instructions. The proclamation in words of democratic principles alongside authoritarianism in fact, incantations about people's power from the rostrum alongside voluntarism and subjectivism in practice, endless talk about democratic institutions alongside trampling of the norms of the socialist way of life in reality, and a lack of criticism and glasnost—all this became quite widespread and took root in society. The price paid for such methods proved to be harsh: indifference, weakening of the masses' social activeness, and alienation of the worker from social property and government. It is indeed in the ossified system of power, its command-pressure structure, that the fundamental problems of restructuring, economic reform, and development of the social-cultural sphere, of educating people in an attitude of an owner's commitment toward everything happening in the country, are today rooted.

In the spring of 1985 the party began a resolute struggle for renewing socio-political structures. The step-by-step development of the new economic mechanism is in progress. The character of social relations is changing. The legal foundations of restructuring are being strengthened. We are learning democracy and glasnost; we are learning to debate and hold discussions, to tell each other the truth. This, of course, is no small thing. But the processes of democratization, both at the enter and locally, are developing slowly. Today we must have the courage to admit: If the political system remains immobile, without change, then we will not cope with the tasks of restructuring. When posing the issue of a cardinal reform of the political system, we must proceed first and foremost from a clear idea of which qualities have withstood the test of time and are necessary for us today, and which, on the contrary, must be reduced to the minimum or totally overcome.

It seems to us that we should be talking about accomplishing the following basic tasks: first, to do all we can in order for millions and millions of workers to be involved in the government of the country—not just in words, but in actions.

Second, to open up the maximum scope for the processes of self-regulation and self-government of society, and

create the conditions for the full development of society, of the initiative of citizens, of representative organs of power, and of party and public organizations of labor collectives.

Third, to perfect a system for the free formation and expression of the interests and will of all classes and social groups, and the harmonization and implementation of them in the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state.

Fourth, to guarantee conditions for the free development of every nation and ethnic group, and to strengthen their friendship and equal cooperation on the principles of internationalism.

Fifth, to radically reinforce socialist legality and law and order, in order to exclude the possibility of the usurpation of power or abuses, to counter bureaucratism and formalism effectively, to provide reliable guarantees for the protection of citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms, and also for the fulfillment of their obligations to society and state.

Sixth, to clearly delineate the functions of party and state bodies in accordance with Lenin's concept of the Communist Party's role as the instrument of people's power.

Seventh and finally, to create an effective mechanism to ensure the timely self-renewal of the political system, taking into account changing domestic and international conditions, a mechanism which is capable of constantly and actively developing and implementing the principles of socialist democracy and self-government in all spheres of life.

The ultimate aim of the political system's reform, and the chief criterion for how far we manage to implement it, is the comprehensive enrichment of human rights and the enhancement of the Soviet people's social activeness. This issue occupies a central place in the theory and practice of socialism. An impressive edifice of a citizen's guaranteed rights in many spheres has been built on the foundation created in our country by the October Revolution. We enjoy them, and—why hide it—we rarely give a thought to the fact that all these rights that we are so accustomed to still remain only a hope for working people in many parts of the world, targets in their struggle.

Human rights in our society are not a gift from the state, nor are they a favor from someone. They are an inalienable characteristic of socialism; they are a gain of socialism. The individual and society, the citizen and the state, the person and the collective—all these are different planes of one and the same problem. The way in which it is tackled reflects the nature of a political system and to a large extent determines the results of people's activity and the whole tenor of public life.

The socialist solution to this problem consists of an organic combination of the collective and individual principles. In this key question of the structuring of society, our philosophy originates from the famous formula in the Communist Party manifesto—the free development of each person is a condition for the free development of everyone.

Comrades, it is important for us to understand that it is a person's position in society, the rights granted to him, and the obligations placed upon him, which, in the final analysis, determine his social, labor, and political activity. Moreover, we not only have to understand that but to act in that direction when implementing economic reform and the reform of the political system.

What are the specific tasks to be tackled here? First and foremost, the social rights of the individual. In our country a ramified system of the concern of society for people has taken shape, but at the present stage in its development we see its weaknesses and deficiencies. We are striving to do all we can to improve working conditions, raise the quality of public education and the health service, and provide a better level of social security for the working people. All that is an expression of the firm aim of the party to provide Soviet people with equality and protection in society.

This is what has to be said in this connection. We want to strengthen the guarantees of the social and economic rights of the individual. To do this, the relevant changes have to be wrought both in economic and political conditions. But both the nature of these changes and the time needed to bring them about are closely tied up with the labor activity of all members of Soviet society. The social blessings we get from society and our attitude to labor are inextricably linked. It is important that every person understands the need for a demanding attitude toward himself. Here yet again one comes across the importance of principles of financial autonomy in economic management.

These allow not only earnings to be coordinated with the labor contribution of each person and every collective, but the satisfaction of social needs as well. Boons and blessings do not appear of their own accord. It is only labor that creates them. An unconscientious attitude to what one is doing, poor labor discipline, inertia, and living at others' social expense are unacceptable to us.

Yes, we know that during the years of stagnation quite a few problems in the sphere of labor activity accumulated. Now we have to correct matters and make up for what was left undone, and that is not so simple since it concerns the whole of society.

Restructuring has posed the question of a person's political rights. Management methods of administration by injunction and the restrictions on democracy thereby involved had a particularly detrimental effect on the implementation of political rights. All this acted as a

brake on and complicated the process of overcoming the alienation of a person from power, from politics, from the process started by the October Revolution. The draft political reform which is being submitted to our conference for discussion is precisely calculated to speed up the process of achieving the broad involvement of the working people in managing the country's affairs. To do this actual conditions must naturally be created. The electoral system must be changed, the structure of organs of power and administration must be reorganized, and legislation must be updated. This does, of course, presuppose the relevant changes in the social awareness of millions upon millions of people.

Right now people at the local level are often saying and writing that restructuring has not reached them. They ask when this will happen. But restructuring is not manna from heaven and you must not wait until it is delivered from somewhere. You must create it in your own town or village, through your own work in your labor collective. Today as never before actions are needed, not talk about restructuring. A great deal here will depend on our cadres and leaders at rayon, town, oblast, republic, and union level. By no means are only the leaders to blame for the fact that we still have quite a few places where restructuring is marking time. As is well known, blaming those in charge is very easy indeed and, incidentally, it is something that is very widespread in our country. We can understand this habit developing when the social atmosphere in the country, the activity of party and state organs, did not create the necessary prerequisites for manifesting an active civic position. But now, comrades, everything is radically changing and many have become actively engaged in all the processes of restructuring. Therefore, we must ask a straight question of those who still complain and blame those in charge, the bosses: What have you done for restructuring then? [applause]

I want to especially dwell on the political freedoms that give a person the opportunity to express his opinion on any issue. The implementation of these freedoms is a real guarantee that any problem that is of public interest is comprehensively discussed and that all the pros and cons are weighed. This helps to find the most correct decisions, taking into consideration all the diverse opinions and the actual possibilities.

In a word, comrades, what we are talking about is a new role for public opinion in the country. There is no need to be afraid of newness or the unfamiliar nature of the opinions. There is no need to shy away and go to extremes at each turn the discussion takes.

I also want to touch on such a fundamental issue as the freedom of conscience. Enhanced attention is now being paid to it in connection with the millennium of the introduction of Christianity in Russia. We do not conceal our attitude to the religious world outlook as an unmaterialistic and unscientific one, but this is no reason for a disrespectful attitude to the spiritual world of people who believe, and even less for the use of any manner of administrative methods to assert materialistic views. The Leninist decree on the separation of church and state and of school and church adopted 70 years ago created new foundations for relations between them. It is well known that these relations have not always developed normally, but life itself and history have united believers and nonbelievers as citizens of the Soviet country and patriots, both in the years of the trials of the Great Patriotic War and in the creation of our socialist society and the struggle for peace.

All believers, regardless of their religion, are citizens of the USSR with full rights; the overwhelming majority of them participate actively in our economic and public life and in the accomplishment of restructuring tasks. The draft law on freedom of conscience, which is now being prepared, is based on Leninist principles and takes into account all contemporary realities.

Now for the individual rights of citizens: Here, too, a more precise legislative regulation is required. Some things have already been done. People have greeted with great satisfaction the decision not to give consideration to anonymous letters, the establishment of criminal accountability for persecution and criticism, the procedure for lodging a complaint with the courts regarding unlawful actions by officials, the payment of compensation for damage caused by such actions, and a strengthening of the protection and rights of the mentally ill. Law and order is meant to guarantee a strict observance of the rights of citizens to the inviolability of their personal lives, dwellings, telephone conversations, correspondence, and the things they send by mail and telegraph. The law must reliably protect the personal dignity of the individual.

In fully protecting and guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of Soviet people, we cannot examine them in isolation from citizens' obligations. Democracy presupposes reasonable social order, without which there cannot in fact be any personal freedom. Our legislation has as its aim to resolutely defend society from all sorts of self-seekers, scroungers, pilferers, hooligans, slanderers, and louts. Society must have at its disposal effective means to act against antisocial elements, reeducating them and involving them in a normal working life. And another problem: The assertion of personal rights and freedoms and the overall expansion of democracy and glasnost must go hand in hand with the strengthening of legality, with the instilling of unfailing respect for the law. Democracy is not compatible with willfulness, irresponsibility, or with lack of discipline. [applause]

As you know, we have on several occasions recently run up against attempts to use democratic rights for antidemocratic ends. Some people think it is possible to resolve any question by this means, from the redrawing of borders to the creation of opposition parties. The CPSU

believes that such abuses of democratization run fundamentally counter to the tasks of restructuring and are contrary to the people's interests. [applause]

The human rights problem also has an important international aspect. We are deeply convinced of the correctness of our socialist choice and firmly intend, removing all distortions and deformations, to enrich the rights of the individual precisely on socialist soil, acting within the framework and by those methods that accord with our system's nature.

However, in contemporary conditions human rights, and above all the right to life, are becoming an object of concern for the whole world and are becoming internationalized like many other aspects of social life.

We are ready to actively cooperate with all other countries, to exchange experience, and to scrupulously fulfill the obligations we have undertaken. We are convinced that restructuring will make it possible to show the indisputable superiority of socialism in guaranteeing all human rights—social, political, and individual. [applause]

Comrades, it is well known that our state was born as a tool of the working class dictatorship. On the threshold of the sixties the conclusion was drawn that it would gradually grow into one belonging to the whole people. This conclusion was correct in principle. But the deeper we grasp the content of the political process, the more obvious it becomes that we must raise our statehood to one belonging to the whole people in the full meaning of that concept. For this we need an organization of authority and management where the final decision will always belong to the people, when the process of self-regulation and self-management of society has reached its maximum extent. A correct distribution of authoritiative power between the main links of the political system, first and foremost between the party and state, is of principle importance. Life is setting before us in all its urgency the task of resurrecting the plenipotentiary authority of the soviets of people's deputies, and we cannot get away with half measures here. We must have a comprehensive approach to the problem and find a radical solution to it.

The discussion before the conference showed that the measures proposed by the Central Committee for restructuring the soviets are meeting with support and approval. The basic principle can be put like this: Not a single state, economic, or social question can be solved bypassing the soviets. The party's policy—economic, social, national—must be conducted first and foremost via the soviets of people's deputies as the organs of people's power.

The need to reorganize the management of local affairs on the principles of self-management, self-financing, and self-sufficiency cannot be postponed. It must become the organic continuation of economic reform, linking together the interests of society as a whole and the demands of each of its territorial cells and labor collectives, putting an end to poor interdepartmental liaison and the fragmentation of the local economy. It is necessary to establish total responsibility and independence of the soviet in solving the problems of developing the territories under their jurisdiction, to increase the allocation to their budgets a part of the profit of enterprises, regardless of their subordination. The soviets must have solid sources for their incomes, based on long-term norms, including income from all enterprises located in their territory, and they must accumulate the means to implement large-scale tasks.

They must also have the capability they need to take in money from the people with the aim of solving questions of social, cultural, and consumer development which are general for the inhabitants of this or that town, rayon, or settlement. The handover to the jurisdiction of local soviets of enterprises whose output is connected with satisfying the people's demands must be intensified, as must giving them the possibility of placing orders with enterprises subordinated to higher organizations.

It is necessary to precisely and clearly define the legal relations between the soviets, enterprises, kolkhozes, and their labor collectives. One ought to decisively renew the very organization of the work of representative bodies, expand the range of issues that are decided exclusively at their sessions, make provisions for some of the delegates to be released from time to time from their official and production duties to work in the soviets in constituencies, and make the specific control functions of the soviets and their standing commissions more effective.

At sessions during the election of executive committees and approval of the heads of departments and directorates, the nomination of alternative candidacies, secret ballots, competition, and other democratic forms should become the rule. We have to guarantee that the work of soviets of all sections is conducted in public, and constantly in the electorate's view. The soviets, according to the Leninist plan, combine legislative, managing, and control functions. However, this does not negate the rational division of labor between state bodies, which is particularly important for interrelations between the soviets and their executive committees. In the interests of the correct demarcation of functions and the reinforcement of the control of representative bodies over the activities of executive committees, many of those taking part in the discussion have voiced the proposal that local bodies of authority should have soviet chairmen and soviet presidia working full time. They would make preparations for sessions, and coordinate the work of standing commissions and deputies' groups; in a word, all that is connected with organizing the intensive work of a representative body of authority.

In present-day conditions, the task is being set of enhancing the role of elected bodies. Therefore, the view of those comrades who believe that, taking into account the

new tasks, it is very important to back the role of soviets as the representative bodies of the people with the authority of the party, seems well-founded to deputies. But this has to be done on a strictly legal basis. The most realistic path here as a rule is to recommend the first secretaries of the relevant party committees to the posts of soviet chairmen. In heading the soviets and their presidia they will in the most active way possible assist in improving all aspects of the activity of bodies representing the people. This is a matter of great importance. It ought to be examined in more detail.

Now, first secretaries are usually ispolkom members. Many years of experience leads, whether intentionally or not, to a strengthening of the prerogatives of the ispolkoms and their apparatus, to the detriment of the authority of the soviets as representative bodies. If the first secretary of the party committee is elected chairman of the soviet, this will enhance the authority of the soviet and increase control over the activity of the ispolkom and its chairman and make it possible to delimit more precisely the functions of party and local soviets, in conditions where the center of gravity of administrative activity moves to the soviets.

On the other hand, comrades, the recommendations of party leaders for the posts of chairmen of soviets will place them under more effective control by the workers, since the election will take place at sessions by secret ballot. This means that a party leader's mandate which the Communists entrust to him will each time be checked and confirmed by the representatives of the people at all levels of soviets.

Of course, it is possible the recommended candidate for party secretary will not be supported by the deputies. Then it is clear that the party committee and the Communists will have to draw the appropriate conclusions from that. The establishment of a rule, according to which members of an ispolkom and the leaders of its departments and directorates cannot be members of the relevant soviet, must serve as the best delimitation of powers between representative and executive bodies. As deputies to the soviet, they now take part in sessions and give instructions to themselves. It is clear that they have an interest in those instructions being as small and as weak as possible, because they are the ones who would then carry them out. This must be separated. It is expedient to extend this principle to judges, prosecutors, arbitrators and—in the USSR and union and autonomous republics—to members of government and leaders of departments as well.

The need to introduce a number of democratic restrictions on holding elected positions has also fallen due. Past experience shows that the absence of these restrictions has been one of the chief causes of abuse of power, both at the center and in the regions. We know of many examples where perfectly worthy and capable leaders, having spent decades in their posts, have outlived their usefulness and, continuing to occupy the leader's chair, have turned into a brake and a burden on the cause. The material from the discussion held before the conference shows that a change in such a situation has, essentially, become a demand of the party and the people as a whole. To be sure, different points of view were expressed here. Some doubted whether a reservation was necessary regarding the possibility of election for a third term in a row, even if only in exceptional cases. In the opinion of others, the extension of powers for a third term must be permitted only for the highest tier of authority. Let us discuss these proposals.

There is one more thing: If in the Theses the restriction on terms is made to apply only to elective offices, many participants in the discussion proposed that it be extended to officials appointed and confirmed by the soviet. In our opinion, that is a correct observation and it should be supported.

There was also discussion of a proposal restricting the tenure of elected offices after reaching a certain age. There were also votes against, which held that this would mean restricting the sovereign rights of the electorate. I think that, with due account for the broad democratization of the whole process of forming the organs of power and management, this problem will lose its acuteness and will be addressed by the voters and deputies themselves with the aid of democratic procedures. A necessary condition for raising the activity of the soviets is the real political weight of the people's deputy; this is directly connected with the whole process of forming representative organs of power.

Hence the need for a resolute renewal of our electoral system. We have already embarked on fulfilling the decisions of the 27th party congress. During the last electoral campaign, elections were conducted in some of the constituencies according to the multi-candidacy scheme, and in many constituencies two or more candidates were proposed. The overall number of candidacies discussed in the country as a whole was twice the number of seats. Competitiveness breathed life into the elections, intensified the voters' interest in them, and raised the deputies' sense of responsibility.

Now we have to go further, mastering and consolidating new approaches to the electoral system. In forming the soviets it is necessary to guarantee the right of an unrestricted nomination of candidacies, broad and free discussion of them, rigorous compliance with the democratic procedure of election, regular reporting back by the deputies, and the possibility of their recall. More wide-ranging powers have to be granted to constituency preselection meetings, which should become democratic forums for the competitive selection of candidates.

In general, comrades, our corps of deputies should henceforth be formed not by quota but primarily on the basis of the vibrant and free will of the electorate. The first condition for the effective work of the soviets is the election of people who are principled, vigorous, and

experienced, with a mind for state affairs, capable of worthily representing their electorate, and vigorously acting in the organs of power. And one should not be apprehensive of the disporportionate representation of various strata of the population. We have militant, politically literate, vigorous people in the working class, among the peasantry, and the intelligentsia. It is only necessary to create a well adjusted competitive mechanism which will guarantee their optimum selection by the electorate. And then all of the main groups of the population and their interests will be reflected in the composition of the soviets.

As we understand it, there is agreement in society on the question of reducing the numerical composition of local soviets. When the Central Committee Theses for the conference were being discussed, there was wide support for the proposal that a single 5-year term of office should be set for all the soviets. Under those conditions, the local soviet deputies will work with greater confidence. They will have enough time to realize their plans, but the voters will always retain the right either to recall a deputy who is remiss or has proved incompetent, or to enlarge the membership of the soviet, should the need arise.

Shall we take a break, perhaps? [Ligachev announces that there will now be a 30-minute interval]

[Applause] Comrades, of decisive importance to the effective work of the soviets are the powers and their system of operation pertaining to the supreme organs of Soviet authority. As everyone can see, despite the fact that the deputies, Presidium, and USSR Supreme Soviet commissions are carrying out useful work, the structure of our supreme organ of power and its working procedures need substantial changes.

In the discussion which has started on the Central Committee Theses, particular interest has been shown in this question. Numerous proposals have been forwarded suggesting that we turn to the experience of the first few post-October decades, when we had a system of soviet congresses in operation. These were broad and plenipotentiary people's gatherings, between which central executive committees were in operation. The massive scale of representation was combined with constant work on legislation, administration, and control. Also expressed during the discussion was the idea of the need for direct representation in the country's supreme organ of power for our public organization. Generalizing these opinions, the CPSU Central Committee is putting the following proposals foward for examination by the conference:

1. To considerably extend workers' representation in the highest echelon of state power. For this, the territorial representation of the entire population in the Soviet of the Union and that of the government of the nationalities and ethnic groups in the Soviet of Nationalities, currently in existence, will be supplemented by direct representation from public organizations included in our political system. In this way, 1,500 deputies would be elected, as now, from territorial and national okrugs, and approximately 750 more deputies would be elected at congresses or plenums of the central organs of party, trade union, cooperative, youth, women's, veteran, scientific and creative organizations, as well as others. A list of such organizations and the citeria for representation could be determined in the Constitution. All the deputies taken together, and elected for a period of 5 years, would constitute a new representative supreme organ of state power—the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

It would assemble for its session once a year, deciding the most important constitutional, political, and socioeconomic questions in the country's life. For the purposes of discussing and resolving all issues of a legislative, administrative, and monitoring nature, and for directing the work of accountable organs and lower-placed soviets, the Congress of People's Deputies would elect from its composition a relatively small—say some 400-450 persons—USSR Supreme Soviet, consisting of two chambers.

This would be the permanently functioning supreme body of authority accountable to the Congress of People's Deputies. In this way, all work on legislation and control would be concentrated directly in the Supreme Soviet and its commissions, which would be a new step on the way to democratizing the higher state structures. Periodic renewal of part of the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet could also be contemplated.

2. The work of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers should be stepped up transcending their present lack of functional distinctiveness. It stands to reason that draft laws and decisions on key issues of state life should, as before, be discussed and adopted by the members of both Supreme Soviet chambers. At the same time, the Soviet of Nationalities, representing all national-state and national-administrative formations of the country, could examine issues of economic and social development, interethnic relations, observance of legislation in this sphere, supervision of the activity of union ministries and departments affecting the interests of the republics, autonomous formations, etc.

In its turn, the Soviet of the Union, reflecting the interests of the people as a whole and the requirements of all classes and social groups, could concentrate on working out major social and economic programs and plans and work on policy issues in the spheres of price formation and taxes, labor relations, protection of citizens' rights, the strengthening of the country's defense capacity, ratification of international treaties, and other matters. At our conference here we must agree on the delimitation of the chambers' functions on the level of principle and this should find concrete reflection in the USSR Constitution and in other legislative acts.

Discussion of the Theses has brought out one more topic that has been energetically debated: The state of higher party and state posts, the correlation of higher party and

state posts and their place in the structure of supreme power. In this connection, some believe it correct to return to the practice in existence under Lenin when the leader of the party was head of government at the same time. Others consider the combining of party and state posts to be undesirable in general. Still others favor instituting the office of president of the USSR, and then there are those who point to the incompatibility of the concept of a state accepting the rule of law and a situation in which the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in effect fulfills the role of the country's supreme representative. Many other views are also being voiced. Comrades, this is a serious issue and one that we must discuss at our conference in detail and, moreover, in such a manner that it meets with an optimum solution during the reform of the political system.

In the view of the CPSU Central Committee, increasing the role of the higher representative bodies and the entire system of soviets of people's deputies, strengthening the legal nature of power, and gaining a better representation of the Soviet Union in world affairs would be satisfied by instituting the office of chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It would have to be established that he is elected and recalled by means of a secret ballot of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies of which I was speaking, and he is completely responsible and accountable to it. In conditions of an overall increase in the role of the representative bodies, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet should be endowed with sufficiently extensive state authority. He could, inter alia, provide overall leadership in drafting laws and the more important social and economic programs, decide key issues in the country's foreign policy, defense capacity and security, head the Defense Council, propose candidacies for chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, as well as carrying out a number of other obligations traditional for such an office of state. We are proposing that there should also be, within the structure of supreme power, a Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet that would work under the leadership of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

The makeup of the Presidium could include 2 first deputy chairmen, 1 of whom would be chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee; 15 deputies, 1 for each of the union republics; and representatives of the chambers, standing commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet. It would be the responsibility of the Presidium to convene sessions, coordinate the work of commissions of deputies of the Supreme Soviet, and it would also have certain representative and other powers.

It is expedient to strengthen the status of the standing commissions of the supreme organ of power which would be made up of members of the Supreme Soviet and deputies to the Congress of People's Deputies. They may be set up both separately for each chamber and jointly as joint committees. The powers of the commissions and committees should be substantially expanded in view of the new tasks, in particular to envisage that only after they have discussed the matter beforehand can decisions be made on major questions of domestic and foreign policy or appointments be made to the posts of heads of ministries and departments and of other officials. There should be greater recourse to open hearings in commissions and committees and to the establishment of special groups of deputies to study problems which cause acute public interest.

The question also arises of establishing within the structure of supreme power an organ such as a Committee for Constitutional Supervision elected by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR. It would monitor the conformity of our laws and other legal acts with the basic law of the country, and would be allotted sufficient powers for this purpose.

Incidentally, the existence of this committee would be an extra guarantee of democratic control over the activity of all officials, including those who occupy the highest posts.

3. The new forms of organizing the supreme power still do not in themselves guarantee its effectiveness. What is needed to achieve this is significant change in the very nature and operating style of the Supreme Soviet. The sessions must be relieved of long speeches and reports, overorganization, and formalism. They must become lively and demanding, and they must compare different versions of proposed decisions and discuss corrections, addenda, and objections. It would be worth introducing days for the government to answer deputies' questions and expanding the practice of deputies' inquiries.

Of course, it could also happen that we do not have complete unanimity in adopting one decision or another. But this is a normal phenomenon in the democratic process. Anyway, long ago it was time for us to learn to listen carefully to the voice of our opponents, and not to regard them with undoubted prejudice. Socialist pluralism of opinion, arguments, discussion, and comparison of views are the way to finding better, and the best, solutions.

In proposing these changes in the structure and organization of the work of the highest organ of power of the USSR, the CPSU Central Committee considers that many of them are acceptable for the supreme organs of power in the republics. These steps would help to raise their role and authority, and would mean as a whole a further extension of the rights of the union republics. Furthermore, unity in the structure and system of the democratic functioning of union and republic organs of power would ensure the efficiency and smoothness of the work of the whole system of soviets in its entirety.

Taking into account the intended changes, it is also essential to reconsider the questions of the formation, structure, and functions of the organs of power in the autonomous republics. If the delegates agree, all these

proposals can be formulated in a special conference resolution. Restructuring of the soviets must not be delayed for long. In particular, as early as this autumn, it would be possible to discuss the relevant legislative acts in the USSR Supreme Soviet, and then, after the next elections, to carry out a reorganization of the all-union organs of state power next spring.

While strengthening the soviets as the foundation of representative democracy, it is essential to create conditions for the overall development of direct democracy: in production, in places of residence, at gatherings and rallies of citizens, in the process of discussion of the most important general state and local decisions.

The experience of the past few years has shown the effectiveness of nationwide discussion of drafts of major general state decisions: on state enterprises, the cooperative movement, school reform, the organization of health, and other things. We must make decisions much more frequently than we do now, with voting by citizens in villages, rayons, and towns, especially on questions which affect people vitally, and on which there is no unity of opinion. In such cases, let all problems be decided by the majority.

There are huge reserves contained in the development of all forms of the socialist self-management of the people. We already have a legal, a political, and to some extent a psychological basis to develop them widely, particularly in labor collectives.

Comprehensively evaluating our own experience and the experience of our friends in the socialist countries, we will have to contstantly think through the questions that arise here related to the expediency of the total or partial handing over of certain functions of state bodies to particular self-governing organizations. The main thing is that this should be done not formally, but in essence.

We are living witnesses of how the initiative of the working people is manifesting itself in the most diverse forms under restructuring, and the development of democracy and glasnost. Although, to be frank, by no means everything here is straightforward, comrades. Take for example the labor collective, working under financial autonomy. It can function on the principle of self-financing only as a self-governing organism, and this means that new questions arise concerning the interaction between the general meeting and the council of the collective, between the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the administration, and relations between this whole complex and the soviets of people's deputies.

We may as yet have little experience, but every day it is becoming greater, and we must deal with it carefully in the interests of developing the self-governing process.

And lastly, about one other most important form of socialist sovereignty of the people, control. The idea of workers' control goes back to the October Revolution. As we know, it was thoroughly studied by Lenin in his last works. It was in control by the masses that he saw one of the decisive guarantees against arbitrariness, subjectivism and the abuse of power, a means for ensuring firm socialist discipline, be it labor, state, planning, economic or financial discipline. Control by the working people is a specific feature of the political system of socialism, organically inherent in our social system. And now, when we are unfolding the processes of democratization and self-governing, we must use this instrument of people's sovereignty to the full. As the Theses of the CPSU Central Committee state, it is necessary to create a single system of public and state control, subordinated to the elective bodies of power, and in order to impart the due weight to this system, the chairman of the Committee for People's Control could be, as has already been said, the first deputy of the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

This kind of control system, in which state and public principles are combined, and which is based on a broad network of people's controllers, working in labor collectives, will become a truly powerful force for cleansing society of negative phenomena, and be a mass school for self-governing.

In other words, on the one hand, we must restore the fine tradition of workers' and peasants' inspection of Lenin's time and, on the other, raise the entire work of control to the level of contemporary tasks.

Comrades, now that the task of comprehensively expanding the participation of the working people in governing is being brought to the fore, we must comprehend how under specific conditions the principle of democratic centralism should be applied. Analysis of this question brings one to the conclusion that the main tendency which meets the demand for the development of society is decentralization, naturally carried out while preserving those functions of the center without which the realization of the advantages of socialism and the guaranteeing of interests common to the whole people are impossible. An objective analysis shows that with the present scale of our national economy and the diversity of problems of public life, all the problems that arise cannot be resolved correctly and in good time from one center. Hence the need for many powers to be handed over to local bodies, to the republics, krays, oblasts, rayons and labor collectives.

For the moment, comrades, the situation looks like this. Not only the government, but also the CPSU Central Committee, Politburo, and the Central Committee Secretariat have to resolve dozens and hundreds of questions, most of which could be passed on to lower local soviet, management, and other bodies without the least detriment to the matter. Everyone has gotten used to that order of things. Leading cadres send telegrams, with or

without reason, containing various requests to the Central Committee and to the government. And citizens submit many applications regarding issues which should, in essence, be resolved on the spot; namely, in the town or the rayon and even in the village.

Naturally, the redistribution of functions, of authority, is an extremely responsible matter. It cannot be left to run by itself. A strong political impulse is required here and a precise legislative basis. Carrying out decentralization that is considerable in its scale means supplying a life-giving flow of blood into the veins of our political and economic system. But it is understandable that, in so doing, in no way must the blood supply to the brain and heart of our own organism, the organism of our society, be disrupted. An important place in this belongs to the USSR Council of Ministers which is the highest executive and distributive body of power accountable to the USSR Supreme Soviet. In the context of delimiting the functions of party and state bodies, the responsibility of the Council of Ministers for implementing domestic and foreign policy, the working out and realization of plans and long-term programs for the economic, social, and cultural development increases immeasurably. In order to fulfill these functions, the Council of Ministers has at its disposal broad powers envisaged by our Constitution. While recognizing the exceptional importance of decentralization and the fight against the pursuit of narrow departmental interests, we should say clearly that they have nothing in common with encouraging parochialism. Since such a threat is quite realistic, we need serious counterbalances. The center should retain the right to have its say. The main thing is that democratic control from below, from the working people, should be resolutely strengthened. We all, I think, will vote for self-government, but against arbitrariness, for taking local interests into account, but also for them to be unfailingly combined with the interests of the whole of society. In a word, those who think that the course of decentralization is opening up the floodgates for parochialism and regional egoism are making a gross mistake.

The problems of combining centralism and decentralization in a rational way also arise in connection with aspects of the Law on State Enterprises and Associations regarding cooperatives and individual labor activity. The point of departure in determining the functions of the structural bodies of management should be principles formulated in these documents. They can no longer give orders to the labor collectives as they did previously. In general, comrades, democratization on the level of the financially autonomous team, of the individual labor collective or cooperative will not provide the result it should—and we have already become convinced of this at the first stage of reform—if it is not supplemented with democratization of management on the level of ministries, territorial bodies, and central economic departments.

That means that we must consistently pursue the line of simplifying the structure, combining bodies which administer homogeneous branches of industry and spheres of activity, reducing the number of ministries and departments, abolishing superfluous levels and intermediate and transmission structures. We all understand that now that the exceedingly complex tasks of restructuring—democratization of society and broad involvement of the people in government—are being tackled, we cannot do without the apparat, and we must not take a disdainful attitude toward its cadres. We need the apparatus of administration, but it must be different from what it is now. We must struggle for an apparat of a new type, based on high professionalism, having a command of modern information technology, democratically controlled by the people, capable of moving economic and social progress forward. And working in that apparat, we must have people with a good knowledge of the foundations of the science of administration. Hence the task of organizing the training and retraining of the appropriate cadres in a new way and to modern standards.

The work of setting the structure of administration to rights has now begun at all levels. Some ministries and departments have been abolished in the center and in the republics, as have some administrative subdivisions in the localities. We have examined and approved new general schemes of administration. The apparat of the union departments falling within their scope has been cut by 40 percent. In the republics it is being halved. And in the autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts, it is being reduced by a third. Within the framework of the economic reform which is underway, the enterprises have also begun to rid themselves of superfluous administrative personnel. In general we have to bear in mind that of the 18 million administrators, 2.5 million are on the level of the union, republics, krays, and oblasts, while the rest are at enterprise level. So there we have also got to tackle thoroughly the problem of improving administration. This is not a painless process: It is meeting with resistance. But it has to be said that both the CPSU Central Committee and the government are being justly criticized by the working people for the fact that this is going too slowly. In the third year of restructuring, we are still stuck with an unwieldy administrative apparatus, a considerable part of which is fighting tooth and nail to hold on to its positions, without regard for the interests of society. And here, of course, we ought to orientate ourselves toward the entirely justified demands of the people.

In speaking of the need for a radical improvement in the efficiency of the administrative system operating in our country, it is necessary to take it as a whole. Not one of its levels can remain outside restructuring on the principles of democratic renewal. That applies in full measure to the institutions having to do with the performance of foreign political and external economic functions. The substantial reforms that are being carried out in them of late are a normal process in keeping with the spirit of the times. We must also support the purposeful work of the leadership of the State Security Committee, the Defense Ministry, and the General Staff, aimed at improving

their activities in the conditions created by the present development of our society and of the unfolding of democratic processes. In a word, comrades, the process of democratization confronts us in an acute form with the task of qualitatively improving the system of administration by establishing the correct correlation between the center and the localities and between the elective and executive bodies, and of expanding in real terms the participation of the working people in government. It follows that the question cannot be reduced to purely organizational changes; and this is very important for an understanding of the nature of the previous work.

Comrades, one of the greatest gains of socialism has been the establishment in our country of a union of equal nationalities and ethnic groups. This enables one to say today with great conviction that in the future, as in the past, the consistent pursuit of a Leninist nationalities policy can be the sole healthy basis for our development. Life has confirmed the correctness of the idea enshrined in the organization of our great union: the cumulation and combination of our efforts have made it possible for each nationality, and for society as a whole, to significantly increase the speed of their movement and attain new frontiers of historic progress.

For all the difficulties that faced us on our path, today we note that this union has stood the test of time. It continues to remain the decisive prerequisite for the further development of all our peoples. As is known, it is planned to devote a special Central Committee plenum to the development of relations between the nationalities. However, we must address this exceptionally important and topical problem right now at our conference. It is important to see the whole, real picture here, both the undoubted achievements and the obvious shortfalls, omissions, and difficulties connected with the unresolved nature of specific socioeconomic issues as well as the occasional inability to merge the interests of individual nationalities and the interests of the entire people.

We shall have to engage thoroughly in further developing and improving existing interrepublican economic and scientific-technical links and realize more fully the advantages of the division and coordination of labor within the union, and of the scientifically based regional policy. Glasnost means a lot here. The working people should be fully informed about how their republic is developing and about what place it occupies in the complex of the national economy. They must know not only how their neighbors but how all the country's republics are living and developing. This should also be done because at times one comes across conversations and judgments on interrelations between republics based on insufficient or even biased information. It would be right for our party conference to voice, in the form of reliable guidelines for relations between the nationalities in the economic sphere, support for the principles of fairness and fraternal international aid for one another, and cooperation which ensures both an overall upturn and an improvement in the economic and social living conditions of all the country's nations and ethnic groups.

In the present situation, the rights of the union republics must be reinterpreted and brought into accordance with the radical economic reform. Obviously, it is expedient that, having fulfilled their obligations vis-a-vis all-union stocks, they should be able to increase production for their own needs through skillful and enterprising management. This also would correspond to the demands of social justice in the development of relations between nationalities and would stimulate our common forward movement.

Problems that have not always been sufficiently taken into account also have had light shed on them in recent years in the process of democratization and glasnost: issues related to language, culture, literature and art, historical monuments, and the protection of nature, for example. The development of our multinational state naturally is accompanied by a growth in national self-awareness. This phenomenon is a positive one, but since due attention has not always been paid to the new needs arising in connection with it, some issues have started to grow more complex and to acquire a nationalist slant in a number of cases, although it would be possible in principle to solve them calmly, without giving cause for various sorts of speculation and emotional excesses. We recently have seen with our own eyes the knots into which the problems of relations among nationalities can get tied, and it is necessary to guard the fraternity and friendship of our peoples as the apple of our eye. Another way or a sensible alternative simply does not exist, comrades! [applause]

The person who tries to prove anything else deceives both himself and others. Moreover, trying to cause clashes between people of different nationalities, to sow discord and hatred between them, means taking upon oneself a heavy responsibility before one's own people and before socialist society, not to mention the law. Objectively, such actions hamper both the process of democratization and the cause of restructuring. [applause]

We should also look at the issues of relations between the nationalities within the context of the present stage of development of the Soviet multinational state. The experience we have built up must be generalized. Everything that is valuable must be used, and at the same time everything that has to be got rid of must be exposed. Let's be frank, there is something to think about here; first and foremost we have to assess many normative documents which regulate interaction between the Union and the republics, and see how far they correspond to present conditions, the tasks and requirements of our multinational society and its level of development and democracy. Clearly this is going to require the position, the rights and the obligations of the union and autonomous republics and the other national formations

to be defined more precisely. And within the course of this approach, the following question must also be examined: Our society is distinguished by the high level of mobility of the population. Many people live outside the boundaries of their national formations, and there are ethnic groups that do not have any territorial autonomy. All these are realities of our multinational state.

Certain collisions are possible here, and we have only one way for resolving them: By ensuring, within the framework of the structure of the union state that has come into being, that the interests of every nation and ethnic group and of the whole community of Soviet peoples are taken into account to the maximum extent. Any other approach is simply impossible in our specific conditions. Any attempt to embark upon a different road would be disastrous. Let us take Kazakhstan, for example. An enormous republic, possessing great possibilities for development, a true international community, the achievements of which are the result of cooperation by all our people. That land has been mastered by Kazakhs, Russians, Ukrainians, Germans, Kirghizians, Tatars, Uzbeks, Turkmens, and representatives of many other nations and ethnic groups, and they live there together.

At the same time no one is casting doubt on the integrity of the Kazakh Republic. To some extent the same picture may also be observed in other republics. Internationalization of the economy and of all public life cannot be avoided by us, and any striving for national exclusivity can only lead to economic and spiritual impoverishment. Our socialist approach is different. We strive to see that an individual of any nationality has full rights in practice in any area of the country and that he can realize his rights and legitimate interests anywhere.

In advocating a further strengthening of internationality relations, we proceed from the position that the development of the Soviet state and the international ties and fraternity of our peoples are living and dynamic issues. They must be constantly within the field of view of both republican and union bodies. The problems connected with them need to be resolved by relying on the will of the peoples and mutual agreement, with account being taken of the interests of all Soviet people. It is very important that there exist within the framework of our political system on a permanent basis such state and social institutions that deal with the whole complex of internationality problems. I said earlier that this should become one of the main tasks of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Altogether, comrades, the USSR is our common home, and we, its masters, are obliged to show constant solicitude for it, to guard and embellish it and endeavor to act so that all Soviet people living in it feel pride in their socialist fatherland. [applause]

This obviously needs to be stressed particularly in the resolution of our conference on improving national relations.

I cannot fail to note the interest that was evoked by the proposition in the CPSU Central Committee's Theses that the process of the consistent democratization of Soviet society should bring to completion the creation of a socialist legal state. In brief, the most important thing characterizing a legal state is ensuring in practice the supremacy of the law. No state body, official, collective, and party of social organization, and no individual is freed from the obligation to submit to the law. Just as the citizens bear responsibility to their state of the whole people, so does the state power bear responsibility to the citizens. Their rights must be reliably defended from any arbitrariness by the authorities and their representatives.

Restructuring has revealed with particular clarity the conservatism of our country's legal system, which to a considerable extent is oriented not to democratic and economic methods but to command and injunction methods of leadership with their numerous prohibitions and petty regulations. Many of the existing laws have therefore become a brake on social development. This is why Soviet legislation needs to be reformed. It must encompass a great mass of legal norms and, first and foremost, those relating to socialist property, planning and economic, labor, tax, pension, and other relations. In the renewal of the legislation, there needs to be a strict adherence to the principle that everything is allowed which is not prohibited by the law.

The work of the judicial bodies is of enormous importance. The fate of many people, the defense of their rights, and the inescapable punishment of those who have broken the law depend on how accurately the scales of justice function. In these conditions, it is extremely important to restore the Leninist vision of the role of the court in our system of democracy and strictly to observe the principle of the independence of judges and their subordination only to the law. The election of courts by superior soviets of people's deputies for a more prolonged period, say 10 years, could become one of the important guarantees of this. The public demands a toughening of liability for contempt of court and for interference in its work, and a guarantee of the most rigorous compliance with such democratic principles of court proceedings as competitiveness and equality of the parties, glasnost and openness, the exclusion of all bias and prejudice on the part of the prosecution, and the rigorous implementation of the principle of presumption of innocence. The question is justifiably raised of enhancing the role of the people's assessors. The proposal for increasing their number in examining the most complex category of cases is particularly worthy of attention.

Thus, we are faced, comrades, with the need for a major legal reform. Special mention must be made of the role and responsibility of the procuracy. Over the last 2 decades, a large number of supplementary commitments have been placed upon it, which one way or another have pushed its functions in supervising legality to a position of secondary or even tertiary importance. The CPSU

Central Committee has recognized the need to remove this distortion, and has set the task of returning to the Leninist position and asserting as the main function of the procurators the supervision of the universal and precise understanding and application of Soviet laws.

An important condition for the intensification of the struggle against crime is the work which has been begun on amending the criminal law, and then the procedural and the corrective labor legislation, and bringing its norms into line with the needs of society at the current stage of its development. Great attention must be paid to improving the work of the militia. Over the last 2-3 years, tens of thousands of Communists and members of the Komsomol, the best representatives of the working class and of the peasantry, have joined the militia on the recommendation of party committees and labor collectives. This will serve to clean up the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where, as is well known, serious disruptions are allowed to occur in their work, and, unfortunately, abuses. The main thing that should help us to resolutely raise the level of work of the militia is work with the cadres, their political education, their legal training, and enhancement of their professional skill. The proposal for transferring in the very near future the investigation of the bulk of criminal cases to the investigative apparatus of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is worthy of attention, as is its detachment into a separate structure, not subordinate to the local militia organs. This will make it possible, it seems, to make better use of the possibilities of the Soviet militia in the struggle against crime and in maintaining social order.

With the aim of strengthening the defense of citizens' rights, it is legitimate to put the question of enhancing the role of the legal profession as a self-managing association, and also of lawyers taking a more active part in examining criminal and civil cases.

In connection with the changeover of our economy to the principles of economic reform, it is essential to strengthen significantly the juridical service of the soviets, ministries, departments, and economic and other organizations, as well as the organs of state arbitration. In conditions of financial autonomy and self-management, when contract relations will increasingly penetrate the whole fabric of production links, reliable work by the legal services becomes of prime importance. Without this it is hard to speak of a competent solution to the mass of legal and other problems that arise during restructuring. The planned legal and court reform, the main trends of which our conference proposes to define in an individual resolution, undoubtedly need to be well supplied with cadres. There is no getting away from working out a special program for the training or retraining of lawyers. At the same time, it is also necessary to solve the urgent questions of the material provision for legal cadres.

Universal legal education must be started at school and continued at technical colleges and colleges of higher education, at enterprises and institutions. I think that raising the material incentive and the conditions of financial autonomy themselves will to a large extent help the broad masses of workers to master the basic legal knowledge to strengthen law and order in our country.

Public organizations which reflect the interests of different strata of society are an important component part of the Soviet political system. Trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperative, women's, and other organizations have played an important role in the history of socialist construction. Today, too, they are searching for ways to step up their activity and increase their contribution to the revolutionary renewal of society. But the restructuring of public organizations, with all their differences, is slow and painful. The habit of doing things in the old way, looking over the shoulder at party and state organs, is too strong. Both the general atmosphere in the country and a number of political decisions and legislative acts which have been adopted make it possible for public organizations to project their creative potential more energetically into the process of restructuring.

Incidentally, coming up are laws on the rights of trade unions, on youth, on voluntary societies, on organs of spontaneous public associations.

Incidentally, there will soon be laws on the rights of trade unions, on youth, on voluntary societies, on independent public organs, and independent public associations. Thus good prerequisites for the restructuring of the activities of public organizations as applicable to the new conditions have been created.

However, it is not merely a matter of decisions and legislative acts. Most important is the fact of how public organizations themselves see their role and place on the contemporary stage. Obviously, we must have a comprehensive discussion at our conference of the problems linked to stepping up the activity of public organizations, and in this connection I should like to give voice to a few ideas.

First of all, I'll talk about the trade unions. It goes without saying that, out of respect for their independence, we should not be giving them precise recipes as to how to restructure. Moreover, there has already been talk of this at the 17th Trade Unions Congress. The most important thing is democratization of the very life of the trade union organizations and their taking into account the new situation generated by the process of a democratic renewal of society and particularly at the level of the working collectives.

A favorable outlook is now opening up for handing several functions carried out by state bodies over to the public organizations. We are right to expect the trade unions to be active champions of strengthening self-management principles. Self-management of the working collectives increases the significance of such trade union functions as the defense of the working people's democratic and human rights. By a more confident

action in favor of democratism, the trade unions can have a considerable effect on people's frame of mind, help them to overcome inertia, and more widely involve the working people in managing the affairs of the collective and society. And, of course, the trade unions' defense of the working people's social and economic interests, primarily in the sphere of labor protection, safety technology, social insurance, and the organization of people's leisure and daily life, is in no way diminished but acquires still further significance. This means that the trade unions must find their real place and play a far more active role in implementing economic reform since it is only on this path that we can attain tangible advances in improving the living conditions of the working class and the working people as a whole. Enhancement of the role of the trade unions, like that of other public organizations, will be facilitated by their direct representation in the supreme body of state power.

Comrades, we can see today how all generations of Soviet people are united around the idea of restructuring. The idea of it corresponds equally to the interests of older people, those who shouldered the burden of the first decades of socialist development, defended the country's independence in the Great Patriotic War, and raised it up in the postwar years, and those who are only just entering conscious life and who are to take our motherland to new frontiers of progress. Each generation must say its piece in our common history. All of us participate in and create it. But it is the young people in particular who are to open fully the great economic, scientific, technical, and intellectual potential that has built up over the years of Soviet power, to multiply it many times over, and implement the great aims of restructuring. We can see that young people are more and more becoming not merely participants in the people's struggle as a whole, but its shock and innovative force.

The political and labor potential of Soviet young people is vast but liberating it to the full and channeling the energy of young people into restructuring can be done only when we have decisively overcome serious shortcomings that have occurred in our work with young people in recent decades, during which many fine-sounding words were addressed at them, but genuine steps to prepare young people for life and to involve them in society's political and economic spheres were lacking. The CPSU Central Committee approves of the correct ideas voiced on this issue by the Komsomol Central Committee and the Komsomol organizations. We believe that in contemporary conditions, the CPSU Central Committee and the state should have a well thought out and integral policy regarding young people. At the same time, the legal, economic, and political mechanisms for implementing it should be worked out.

The purpose of this policy, as a special area of the activity of the party and of state organs, of all public organizations, is to create the conditions and incentives for young people through which they are able to develop their thinking and energies to the greatest extent, and to develop and realize their creative potential in the name of socialism. We must, in fact, demonstrate total political trust in our young people, and change the very type of relations with young people. The attitude of fathers instructing their children must give way to communicating with them, and to dialogue.

If we want to fully restore the trust of young people, we must learn to talk with them, talking with them as equals, openly, honestly, remembering meanwhile that it is only the truth that will help us. There will be as much trust as there is truth. [applause] We must teach young people to be selfless in the struggle for the achievement of our ideals; but at the same time we must create the conditions for a joyful, attractive, and full-blooded life.

In speaking of all this, comrades, I want to say clearly that the matter is not one of somehow playing up to young people, of new forms of tutelage and all-forgivingness; that is rejected by young people themselves. No, we must build our relationship on the principles of trust, comradeship, respect, mutual exactingness, and active cooperation in tackling the tasks of renewing our socialist society.

The question of the Komsomol's role today also has immense importance in this connection. The Komsomol is the political organization of Soviet youth, working under the guidance of the party. Today as well, the main task in its work is to point out the Leninist way, to prepare young people to become communists and to take an active part in implementing the policy of the Communist Party. We all wish to see the Komsomol as a school for the communist upbringing of boys and girls, a true school of democracy, an innovative organization where creative people with initiative can find support, where glasnost, openness in expressing one's position, and a spirit of debate are combined with the practical realization of the interests of young people and the active involvement of them in social and economic transformations.

What we are talking about is the chance for the Komsomol to carry out its work without interference, not waiting for instructions from above, but realizing to the full the potential of young energy and initative. As far as party committees are concerned, they should respect and comply with the organizational independence of the Komsomol, its right to tackle independently all issues of life within the USSR without exception, and to participate in the elaboration and implementation of the party's policy, and to defend the interests of young people in party, soviet, and economic bodies. Restructuring demands that the younger generation should be broadly represented in soviets, trade unions, and other public organizations, that young people should acquire the science of management and boldly take state and public affairs into their hands.

Comrades! Before our eyes a new generation is growing and forming—the generation of restructuring. The training of the shift is one of the most responsible tasks of our entire party and our entire society. Obviously it is such an important question that it should in the very near future also become a topic for special discussion at a plenum of the party Central Committee.

In connection with the problem of social interests, I want to dwell on another question of state significance; that is, the question of women. It has been asserted repeatedly that it has been resolved in our country once and for all. In reality we have proclaimed the equality of rights of women with men, and we have guaranteed equal access to almost all professions, established equal pay for equal work, and guaranteed other rights for women. All that is true. But things have turned out in such a way that alongside the unquestionable gains, women have been left with concerns which still in many ways prevent them from taking full advantage of the opportunities granted by society. The disordered state of everyday life, the shortage of institutions for children, the shortcomings of work in the services and trade sectors all fall first and foremost to the lot of women. So here the residual principle in the development of the social sphere has also had its effect. But this situation could continue for years yet, because the opinions of women have not been taken into consideration to a very great extent. They do not have the representation that they should have in the leadership organs. Indeed, on the whole the women's movement which developed after the October Revolution gradually died away or became formal in nature.

Restructuring has posed these questions in an acute way. A mass organization of women has been created, or rather revived. But this is only the organizational side of things, albeit an important one. We must try to change the situation in essence, to open up for women a broad road into the organs of leadership from the bottom to the top, to ensure that questions which touch directly upon the interests of women are not resolved without their participation and deciding judgments.

Another remarkable feature of restructuring is the stormy growth of public associations reflecting all the diversity of social interests. This includes organizations for veterans of war and labor, the Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies and Theatrical Figures, the Soviet Culture Fund, the Children's Fund, various societies engaged in the conservation of nature and historical monuments, and the charity movement. On the whole this is a remarkable manifestation of the people's independent action, and it deserves every kind of support.

Of course one should not close one's eyes to the fact that in the course of the public upsurge, individual groups have appeared whose interests are far from the aims of restructuring and the interests of the people. But it is not they who determine the general atmosphere, and it is not they who are the point now.

I believe that the party organizations, the working people, can distinguish the true enthusiasts for the renewal of socialist society from those who are guided by aims which are alien to socialism.

Under the one-party system, which has been historically created and consolidated in the country, we need a permanent mechanism for juxtaposing opinions, criticism, and self-criticism within the party and within society. In conditions of growing democratization, this is an issue of vital importance. This is precisely how the essence of internal party democracy was understood by Lenin, who, in condemning fractionalism, was resolutely opposed to persecuting his party comrades for thinking differently. Constant constructive political dialogue and the practice of discussion and study and taking account of public opinion should become integral features of our way of life. Conditions for this are being created now.

In fact, a nationwide patriotic movement for supporting the party line for restructuring is being formed in the country. It includes all forces who are in favor of making society healthier—Communists, Komsomol members, nonparty members, believers, women, veterans, young people, and representatives of all the main public organizations. This movement reflects the profound processes occurring in contemporary public and political life and strengthens confidence in the success of the cause of perestroyka. Various proposals are being expressed at meetings, gatherings, and in the press about the prospects for this movement, the possible forms its activity could take. Let us discuss this question also.

Comrades, in implementing perestroyka we return again and again to the idea.... [Gorbachev changes thought] ...turn our thoughts to the party, to its position and role in this revolutionary process. It is significant that it is precisely issues which concern the activity of the party and its leading role that have been at the center of our society's attention recently. This is one of the most convincing confirmations that the people associate both the progress of perestroyka and their hopes for the future with the party.

Even purely internal and party.... [Gorbachev corrects himself]... internal party problems have become the object of general popular interest. Having proposed a new course in April 1985, the CPSU has confirmed that none but itself is the bearer of society's program targets. It is precisely the party that is the political force that can lead the country along the path of renewal. Boldly revealing the reasons for the pre-crisis situation of stagnation, the party has taken responsibility for the situation which has been created. It has examined its activity objectively, its methods of leadership, and consciously provoked public criticism of itself.

At the 27th CPSU Congress, and particularly at the January 1987 Central Committee plenum, the negative processes occurring in the last decade—not only in society as a whole but also in the party itself—were

subjected to critical analysis. We had to give an answer to questions of principle: Why was it that the CPSU, created as a truly democratic organization—of one flesh with the working people—did not manage to stand in the way of the processes of deformation of socialism connected with Stalin's cult of personality? Why also, after that, having exposed and condemned the departures from Leninist principles, did it limit itself to superficial changes, as a result of which serious stagnation phenomena were allowed to occur in the country's develpoment?

The answer lies above all in the fact that certain deformations occurred within the party itself, in the content of its activity and ties with the working people. This brought the loss of many democratic Bolshevik traditions which were inherent in it from the outset and which had been instilled through many years of effort by Lenin and by his comrades-in-arms.

The 27th CPSU Congress posed the task of radically restructuring party work and set the aim of democratizing intraparty life. Lessons from truth have prompted the growth of self-awareness and self-purification in our ranks. Communists, party organizations, and the party press have assumed a more active role in society; to pose and resolve outstanding issues in a bolder way.

The process of renovation—not easily and not without difficulties though—grows. But having established truly profound changes in the life of the party we would not have been sufficiently open if we did not say that as yet not everything goes well. Not every party organization restructures its work taking into acount new requirements. Some party workers, and even committees, are speaking from conservative positions. Many are finding difficult the art of mastering new work methods, the ability to act in an atmosphere of glasnost and democracy. Yes, this is so, but I want to tell conference delegates and the whole people the main thing: without the directing work of the party and the implementation of its political course, the tasks of restructuring cannot be resolved. [applause] Restructuring will be doomed politically, ideologically, and organizationally.

At the present crucial stage, the CPSU should completely fulfill its functions and tasks as the guiding force in society, but it is precisely the decisive significance of political leadership that dictates the need to discuss thoroughly the specific content of party activity in the present conditions.

What is the main thing here? The CPSU Central Committee's principle is set out in the Theses. I shall refresh your memory: The party, proceeding from Marxist-Leninist teaching, is destined to develop theories and strategies for social development, domestic and foreign policies, to develop the ideology of socialist renovation, to conduct political and organizational work among the masses, and to train and place cadres.

The functions of the CPSU as the political vanguard have been defined by us. But in order to put those functions into practice, the party must restructure its activities, the style, methods and forms of work, from a primary organization up to the Central Committee.

Each Communist must really fight to implement policy and fight for the interests of the people. And here it is important to try to understand why we are dissatisfied with ourselves and why we are being very sharply critical of the state of affairs in our party home.

What has happened here? The point is primarily that the principle of democratic centralism which lies at the basis of the CPSU's activity was largely replaced at a certain stage by bureaucratic centralism. And this happened in the first place because the primary party organizations and the rank and file Communists to a large extent lost effective opportunities to influence the content of the party's activity. There was serious violation of the very important Leninist demand in accordance with which all party bodies and their cadres should be constantly monitored by the party masses.

Many negative phenomena in the party are also connected with the weakening of the role of the elected bodies and the excessive growth in the role of the apparatus at all levels. There is something else, too, which must not be left unmentioned. Our party was built by Lenin as an organization of like-minded people. A law of its life was the free discussion of all problems and unity of action after a decision had been taken. However, with the establishment of the command and administrative system, the atmosphere of party comradeship gradually gave way to relations based on orders being given and carried out, to the division of party members into superiors and subordinates, to the violation of the principle of equality among Communists. And although the intolerability of the situation was recognized from time to time, in real life everything continued to go on in the same way. Let us recall that the October 1964 Central Committee plenum was held essentially under the slogan of restoring the Leninist principles and norms of party life. But the actual processes went a different way and, in the years of stagnation, at times even became deformed.

The activity of primary party organizations and of members of elected bodies was affected by delays in the process of replacing cadres. Entire generations of Communists were unable to play a real part in the life of the party. The other side of this is that many of those who remained for years in leading positions in accordance with the cadre nomenklatura considered themselves to be infallible and irreplaceable.

The lowering of the responsibility of a large proportion of elected officials and the party apparatus, their loss of contact with the party masses and the working people frequently ended, as we now know, with political and moral degradation. These are the roots of the shameful facts of abuse of power and moral degeneration discovered

during restructuring. I speak of these phenomena with bitterness. They had a serious effect on the activity of the party and of its organizations. We must never forget this aspect of the matter. But there is another aspect of this, too, and one which is very fundamental for us.

During all of these years, millions of party members and thousands of party cadres honorably fulfilled their party and civic duty in conditions which were both objectively and subjectively difficult. They worthily bore the banner of the revolution and did everything possible in their fields for the development of the country and for socialism.

This can also be said of many of our leading cadres, economic planners and experts, scientists, and cultural figures. Leninist traditions ran deep in the party environment. In spite of everything, it was precisely in the party that there accumulated and took shape forces which have turned out to be capable of making a sharp turn in socioeconomic policy and embarking on the road of restructuring and renewal. The Central Committee April plenum spoke up resolutely for democratization of the CPSU, for the openness of its work, for full restoration of the Leninist norms of party life, and first of all of the activity of the primary party organizations in the work of the party's elected bodies.

The ideas expressed regarding this in the Central Committee Theses have provoked lively discussion not only in the party but in society as a whole. All Soviet people have an interest in seeing in each Communist, in every primary party organization, in the party committee, a really dynamic political force. In the discussion on the eve of the conference, the questions of the role of party assemblies, of the forms of activity of party organizations and party committees, of each Communist, were posed in a new way. And this is understandable, for the primary party organizations are precisely an organic part of each labor collective, embodying the continual presence of the party in the life of society. For these aims it is necessary to fully revive in the party an atmosphere of principle-mindedness, openness, discussion, criticism and self-criticism, conscientious discipline, party comradeship, and an unconditional personal responsibility and businesslike character. It is in this direction that processes in party organizations are now unfolding, and it is the task of the conference to resolutely support them, and to open unlimited scope for them.

It is now necessary to pose in a new way the question of each Communist's responsibility for the state of affairs where he works, for his personal contribution to restructuring, for the activity of his collective. This is important, furthermore, because many people have been complaining that restructuring has not reached the primary party organizations. But who is to blame for that? Let's investigate: The political line of restructuring was defined and approved by the congress. The most important directions of work were formulated in the decisions of the Central Committee plenums. Legislative bills were adopted regarding various spheres of life. In the party and in society an atmosphere of glasnost was created. Initiative, independence, and a civic position are being welcomed and encouraged. Many Communists, Komsomol members, and nonparty members are acting vigorously, at the call of conscience, in various sections of the struggle for socialist renewal. But the others are waiting for something. It is the old endemic disease at work: They are waiting for instructions. Well, there are indeed instructions, comrades, but it is not fitting to lead Communists by the hand. It is in precisely this connection that the question, raised in the Theses, of holding a kind of review of party ranks, is of urgent significance.

Now, action is demanded of every one of us, real action toward carrying out the tasks of restructuring. The vanguard role of the Communists today must be proved, comrades, through deeds. [applause]

The Central Committee has called for the certification of sociopolitical competence of Communists, and we have in principle sensed an approving attitude to this proposal. It is true, however, that misgivings have also been expressed, what is more of a twofold kind. Some believe that certification will not yield anything, that we need, so they say, a purge of the party, to rid it of ballast. We in the Central Committee regard this approach as unwarranted under conditions of restructuring and democratization, and this is why: Many of those who not so long ago were regarded as not very active and as having lost contact with the party organization, and who were included in that ballast, are now trying to find their place in life. We must treat our party comrades with extreme respect. Not one honest worker should be left overboard in restructuring. Let us proceed from this. This is in accordance with Lenin, in accordance with Bolshevism. [applause]

Other comrades are afraid in case certification should turn into reprisals, into the settling of accounts precisely with those who today are demonstrating their active stand. It does not suit a certain group of persons who are pursuing egotistic interests. I think that if we treat this serious matter seriously, both the former and the latter misgivings will be in vain. By putting forward the idea of the self-cleansing of the party, we reckon on certification being in line with the statute regulations, in the framework of a normal democratic process, at open party meetings, and not with the participation of any special threesome or fivesome, and not on the basis of secret investigations and the compiling of closed references. The very process of certification should be a school for the education of Communists, so that, having passed through this school, they come out tightly welded by the bonds of party comradeship, united by the common goals and tasks which restucturing has placed before all of us.

Another question, and a very essential question, is admittance to the party. We need to rid ourselves decisively of all kinds of prearranged instructions and bureaucratic approaches to this question which is so

vitally important for the party. The main criterion in appraising the qualities of someone entering the party is his position and real participation in restructuring. This requirement must apply to all—workers, peasants and representatives of our intelligentsia alike. We are all well aware that people can best be seen in their labor collective; that is where those who are going into the party at the prompting of their heart and those who are seeking personal advantage can be distinguished.

A proposal is being made, that the best people should be nominated to the party directly by the labor collectives. Experience confirms the expediency of preliminary discussion of applications for admittance to the party at working people's meetings, and of course the opinion of the collective should be attentively examined by Communists in admitting people to membership of the CPSU.

Now, about the party's elected bodies. Here we must change much, and in a radical fashion at that. First of all, the authority of the elected bodies must be restored as plenipotentiary representatives of Communists. Secretaries, the bureaus, and the party apparatus especially must all be under the supervision of the elected party body. Henceforth the situation must never arise in which members of the bureaus or workers of the party apparatus permit themselves a command style in relation to members of the elected committees.

It is no less important, and perhaps even more important, that the biggest questions of principle connected with implementing the vanguard of the party in new conditions and of organizational and political work among the masses should be submitted for discussion at party committees.

The practice in which the agendas of party meetings, of Communists, are cluttered up with dozens of petty, insignificant matters has to be resolutely stopped. In preparing a discussion on an issue, the merest hint of overorganization, glorification, and empty verbiage must be excluded. Openness, a critical approach, and a business-like attitude must reign supreme in all elected organs. The same things should also be inherent in the activity of the party apparatus, which excludes secrecy in its work and the unjustified suppression of information.

Everything I have said applies in full measure to the activity of the CPSU Central Committee, which occupies a special position in the party and in society. It is precisely here that highly important issues of domestic and foreign policy are solved in the periods between congresses. How the Central Committee works, what issues it discusses, what decisions it makes, and how democratic is the atmosphere of its activity are of enormous importance for the whole party and our entire society.

We have already had occasion, at the January plenum of the Central Committee, to discuss what the situation was like in the Central Committee over a number of years. I will not repeat it; I will just say that many blunders could have been avoided if the problems that came to a head in governing the country had been solved in good time and in a well-considered manner, and if the work of the party Central Committee had always been full-blooded and democratic. The situation has begun to change now, especially since the 27th party congress. I would say this: the Central Committee is reviving and gaining strength, and Central Committee plenums now take place in a different style. Yet, we still must be cautious in our assessments and not fall into exaggerations.

Problem number one is the active work of the Central Committee members not only at their place of work but also during the preparation, discussion, and adoption of all-party decisions. Speaking of this, I also have a definite experience in mind. On the eve of the most recent plenums it became the practice to hold preliminary consultations with members of the Central Committee and with secretaries of party committees, to distribute documents relating to the agenda, and so on. All of this had an effect on the vigor of the Central Committee members themselves, and on the quality of the decisions adopted. Here, incidentially, is a definite guarantee against mistakes in work; the price of such mistakes, as is well known, is too high.

We have to think also about new forms of work organization in the periods between plenums, and at the plenums themselves. Shouldn't we have commissions in the Central Committee dealing with areas of major importance in domestic and foreign policy, and on which members of the Central Committee would work on a regular basis?

Then the party apparatus, too, will take up its proper place.

The participation by the Central Committee members in the Politburo's work must probably also be widened. I won't say that this is not happening but, so far, this participation is restricted, to a considerable extent, to officials in the apparatus, departments, and scientific institutions of the capital.

The reporting back of information about its activities by the Politburo to the Central Committee plenums must become a regular feature.

In order for the party committees and elective bodies to function in a full-blooded way and for them to be able to use everything that is enshrined in our rules, the procedure for forming them should resolutely be renewed. This is a decisive factor for the involvement of any elective body, also including a party body.

It is necessary that elections at all levels take place in a democratic atmosphere, ensuring a wide discussion of the nominations, competitiveness, and, as a result, the election of people who are really dedicated to the cause, talented and worthy people who enjoy absolute authority and are capable of pursuing the policy of restructuring.

We will evidently not succeed in achieving this by using the old approaches when nominations for possible discussion and then voting upon were essentially put forward by the secretary, at best with the participation of the members of bureau of the oblast, town, or rayon party committee.

In connection with this, comrades, the following thought is being submitted for examination by the conference: While leaving the last word to the general meeting or the delegates of the conference, the right of lower-ranking organizations at the same time as electing delegates to the conference or the congress to put forward proposals regarding nominations to the higher-ranking party body should also be recognized.

As the discussion has shown, the majority resolutely supported the proposal to the effect that during elections to all party committees, right up to the CPSU Central Committee, Communists are entitled to nominate more candidates than there are mandates and to be guided in this not by what post is held by a person but by his stance on restructuring. [applause]

Had such a procedure applied, the questions which took place in a number of cases during the election of delegates to our conference would not have arisen.

The proposal to establish a single 5-year term of office for all party committees, to limit the tenure of elected CPSU posts to two terms in succession, and to permit the election for a third term only in exceptional cases has attracted attention. The interest in this is not fortuitous. In it was manifested the anxiety both of Communists and nonparty members regarding the violations perpetrated in the past connected with lengthy tenure in leading posts. In principle, as we understand it, three points of view have appeared here. Some comrades support the proposal contained in the Theses. Others are in favor of limiting tenure in elective posts at all levels of the party to two successive terms. And, finally, yet others speak for making an exception for the election for a third successive term only for the highest echelon.

Well, comrades, let us consult together once again and make a decision.

Of enormous importance in today's conditions for the interpretation of the role of the party as a political vanguard is the correct deciding of the question of the precise delimitation of the functions of the party and state bodies. The position of the CPSU Central Committee on this matter is set out in the Theses of the Central Committee and has aroused very keen discussion. And no wonder: On the solution of this question depend, in effect, both the restructuring of our political system and the success of restructuring as a whole.

Why am I saying this with such definiteness? Our society is at a very crucial stage. It has begun a process of profound transformations, and it stands in greater need than ever before of reliable political and ideological reference points. The elaboration of such reference points, the strategy of social development and its embodiment in policy, are tasks that can be performed only by a strong party possessing a vast potential of theory and of cadres—closely linked with the people, and constantly checking and enriching its experience by the experience of the masses of the people. Vladimir Ilich Lenin pointed out many times how harmful it is to imagine that the ruling party must lead directly, ignoring or claiming to be a substitute for other organizations of the working people. He demanded that we distinguish much more precisely the functions of the party, of its Central Committee, and of Soviet power. He sharply criticized attempts to shift onto the party the responsibility for solving every specific problem. He condemned the practice of dragging some small specific matter as far as the Politburo.

It is necessary to say that the issue of the demarcation of functions between party and state has been raised more than once, at various stages of the history of our society, and that when it has been raised, it has been acknowledged that the existing situation was abnormal and must be changed by appealing to Leninist principles. Yet matters not only did not change for the better, but worsened increasingly over the years. As the problems of economic development increased in complexity, the party found itself drawn into solving a great variety of administrative tasks, and its apparatus grew accordingly. The logic of the administrative and command system dictated that such a policy should be retained and reinforced. More than that, there were those who, by reference to the experience of particular stages of our history, sought to prove that this was the most effective way to solve various problems of our development. It was with them that the thesis of the growth of the leading role of the party was primarily associated.

I think you will agree, comrades, that in tackling the problem of the demarcation of functions, we must begin with the upper echelons of the country's leadership. I have already spoken about enhancing the role of the highest organs of state power and government. But what is the implication of this for the party, its Central Committee, and the Politburo of the Central Committee? Above all, it presupposes that the Central Committee and Politburo must act and function as organs of political leadership. Of course, we must resolutely set a course toward not allowing substitutes for the supreme organs of power and government. Everything that the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers must do, must be done precisely by them.

The question arises: What mechanism and what possibilities should the Central Committee and its Politburo employ in order to carry through the organs of Soviet power the political line elaborated by the party and the decisions of the congresses and plenums of the Central Committee? Here we must fully realize the Leninist principle that the CPSU carries out its political course through the Communists working in the organs of state power in all spheres of the life of society. All party organizations must act strictly within the framework of the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws. We must exclude the passing of resolutions of party committees containing direct instructions to state and economic bodies and public organizations.

Apropos of increasing the role of the elective colleges and of delimiting the functions of the party and state bodies, the issue of change in the structure and composition of the party apparatus has moved onto a practical plane. We shall have to reject the present fragementation of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus—and the corresponding fragmentation of the apparatus of subordinate party bodies—right across the branches of administration, and rearrange its structure in accordance with the functions of the party in the contemporary conditions, as well as reducing the size of the apparatus, too.

I should particularly like to speak about the rayon and city links of the party. Their role always has been and remains a very important one. While taking account of the new requirements, one must be attentive toward the formation of their apparatus so that it might better assist the party committees to carry out their direct political, organizational, and educative functions. The raykoms and gorkoms must operate on the basis of the main thing: to rely constantly on the primary party organizations in all their work. For this there must be a decisive change in the style and methods of their activities. Evidently, taking into account the discussion at the conference and the formation of our common stance on these issues, we could in the very near future set about drawing up a new structure for the party apparatus.

Comrades, the goal of all these proposals is consistent observance of the democratic principles of intra-party life; an increase in the party's vigor and in its capacity to head the process of the revolutionary renovation of Soviet society, and to set the tone for restructuring. We are saying that the party's capacity for self-control and critical analysis of its actions depends first and foremost on how fully the principle of democratic centralism, the collectiveness and corporateness of its work, and glasnost are enshrined in its activity.

And something else, comrades: We are relying on the fact that in this way we will inflict a decisive defeat on bureaucratism—the disease that has, most unfortunately, affected a sizeable proportion of party bodies and party cadres and that is expressed in their alienation from the working people and in the fact that they have ceased to live by the interests and cares of the people. Of course, there is no single remedy—nor can there be—to resolve all problems at a stroke. We must keep firmly to the path of reviving the Leninist principles for intra-party life.

In this connection I would like to speak about control and auditing work in the party. As is shown by discussion, there is support for the proposals contained in the CPSU Central Committee Theses on the creation of a unified control and auditing body that would be elected by the party congress and that would keep an eye on the observance by Communists of the requirements of party discipline, the CPSU Constitution, and the financial and economic activity of the party organizations.

Comrades, the February plenum of the Central Committee set the task of renovating our ideology together with radical economic reform and democratization of party and public life. And this determines the active role which the party assigns to ideological work in attaining the goals of restructuring. The retreat from the principles of creative Marxism-Leninism has left a painful mark on ideology. Its theoretical level has waned, and propaganda has, not infrequently, run counter to the realities of life. The essence of ideological work has come to serve the dogmatic concepts of socialism, has lost its critical attitude toward present-day reality, and has thus promoted manifestations of stagnation. While bypassing the topical problems of life, propaganda has degenerated into rhetorical idle talk and eulogy, and has acquired a purely ritual significance.

The last 3 years have been marked by intensive work in public awareness. An honest and critical discussion on the state of affairs in all fields of our life was held. Indeed, for the first time in very many years, decades even, we took a look at ourselves, not only frankly and without preconception, but in relations to all sides of our development. Once again the search for right and truth and not advantage, is honored. Once again it is boldness of objective research and not a passing fad, which is valued. Here is an instructive conclusion for all of us for the future. Without the truth of life, without the truth of scientific facts and artistic discoveries there is not and cannot be a complete and varied spiritual life, there is not and cannot be truly effective militant ideological work. The party is convinced of the correctness of this approach, the rightness of its revolutionary initiative in developing glasnost, democracy, and the socialist pluralism of opinion. But it would be naive to suppose that a society, renewed through and through, will be born of its own accord, automatically, and all at once just because of moral purification, well founded criticism, and a break with the unworthy past. No, the dialectics of consciousness and practice are immeasureably more complicated. The effectiveness of ideological activity depends to a decisive extent on concrete political, organizational, and socioeconomic conditions. Today we have managed to arouse public consciousness, to overcome the state of apathy and alienation, and now the

question is this: Where will all this awakened consciousness go? In which direction will public opinion develop? It will either serve the cause of restructuring, go down the path of increasing constructive and creative efforts, the path of labor and responsibility, the path of the true renewal of socialist society, or will it tremble at the difficulty and unfamiliarity of the new tasks, give in to passions and emotions, break away into superficially attractive initiatives, into various short-lived campaigns. Or it will give a brief sigh over their life and slip back into slumber, which would suit excellently well all those who liked the time of stagnation.

It is clear that there can only be one path. It is the path of restructuring, the path of renewal. The party will make use of all possibilities to see that public awareness is formed on the basis of the development of democratization and glasnost, and be aimed at creative work. [applause]

The cause of renewal needs guarantees and protection. These guarantees must be created and strengthened both in the consistent conducting of radical economic reform, the reform of the political system, and in the sphere of public consciousness and spiritual and ideological life. There is no doubt that quite a lot of saddening and even tragic things have been said in the past years, things which can cause bitterness, pain, disappointment, and disagreement. Of course it is pleasanter not to know this, not to be aware of it. But revolutionary awareness, a civic position, courage and lofty responsibility in a person cannot be born from such an approach. This is essential for the success of restructuring. It was precisely because of this that the party embarked boldly on a critical reconsideration of the past, on the reestablishment of historical truth, the rehabilitation of those who were the victims of unjust political accusations and lawlessness. And this work must be continued.

There should be no questions which one would avoid answering. There should be no doubts which one could brush aside. Our party honor and conscience are involved, the intellectual dignity of the party of Lenin.

It is not simple and easy to work one's way through to the truth. But a party that lives in conditions of ideological comfort, that has deduced that it has the truth in its hands and that it is not necessary to go after it day in and day out but that it can be simply taken out of the safe—such a party runs the risk of losing its intellectual [dukhovnyy] and moral authority, its revolutionary nature and the ability to be society's political vanguard.

Numerous remarkable qualities are inherent in our social consciousness, in the Soviet man. This is so. Nevertheless, today we pose the question of the need to inculcate purposefully initiative-taking, independence, lively interest in the new, the need for it. Without it, new frontiers of restructuring cannot be reached. These qualities can only be inculcated on the basis of democratic forms of life of society. Restructuring has brought to the forefront of life glasnost, which takes the most different forms in the process of its implementation: in the work of state and public organizations, at assemblies, meetings, scientific and creative conferences, and citizens' rallies.

The media today are a powerful mouthpiece of public opinion. They have done quite a lot to restore the historic truth and justice, to voice criticism of shortcomings and omissions, to spread the experience of restructuring, to develop in people the ability to think and act in a new way, creatively, purposefully.

But now we must go forward. We need a new quality of the party press, a new quality of its politically educational and organizational role. Our press now should, without lowering the level of criticism of all that impedes progress on the path of restructuring, go deep into the processes, analyze the complex dialectics, the contradictory nature of establishing a new society in all spheres of its life. And to achieve that, more knowledge, more competence, more constructiveness and responsibility are needed. The press can resolve that task only through engaging wide layers of the society, through hailing the experience of real foremen of restructuring.

Today there is no more need to argue that there can be no restructuring without glasnost. Without it we would have been unable to do the great amount of work on analyzing the reasons for negative phenomena and ways of overcoming them. We would have been unable to create a new moral and political atmosphere in the society, to bring the ideas of restructuring to the forefront. Glasnost means pluralism of opinion on any issues of domestic and foreign policy, free collation of different points of view, debates. And only with that approach can it fulfill its social role: to serve the interests of the people and socialism.

But glasnost, like any manifestation of democracy, assumes high responsibility. Glasnost cannot be combined with claims to a monopoly on views, with the imposition of different dogmas to replace those we are rejecting, with the serving of group interests and even less with distortion of facts and with the settling of personal scores. [applause]

It is extremely antidemocratic to deprive people who have been subjected to criticism of the means to respond to the essence of it. What sort of glasnost is that? And it is completely unacceptable when discussions, meetings, pages of the press, and television screens are used for wrangling, hurling insults, and labeling. [prolonged applause]

At the same time, comrades, there are still instances—and this must be plainly stated at the conference—of suppression and even reprisals for criticism. We also meet with this in party organizations, in labor collectives, in public organizations, and in the government apparatus, and with regard to the mass media. Quite

often, the active and uncompromising way Soviet people expose specific shortcomings—their protests against irresponsibility, against abuses by officials—arouses a furious response and opposition from some people. Once more we see how they silence and even persecute those who raise their voices to defend the truth. Party organizations and party committees at all levels must guard the development of criticism and self-criticism and must act from positions of principle.

When we speak, comrades, of instilling political culture and civilization in human relations, our mass media can play an enormous role here, by their own example. All this must obviously be kept in mind in preparing the conference resolution on glasnost.

And on another ideological aspect of the party's political activity at the present stage of perestroyka—now, the processes of reestablishing truth and justice, rejecting everything that has deformed socialist ideology and practice, and abolishing stereotypes and dogmas—some people insist that these are allegedly an erosion of principles, of the bases of socialism, a denigration of its history. We cannot agree with this, comrades. Categorically, we cannot! [applause]

We do not have the right to allow perestroyka to stumble on the stone of dogmatism and conservatism, on someone's prejudices and personal ambitions. It is a matter of the country's destiny, the destiny of socialism, and we are obliged to clarify the acute nature of the situation of those who have not yet grasped it. In this matter, which is a most important one for us, there can be no compromises. [applause]

I would like to state quite clearly here at the conference that we will continue to develop all genuinely socialist values, and decisively eliminate everything that has distorted the revolutionary theory and aspect of socialism. Tempestuous discussions and battles of passions have revealed an important situation, both gratifying and inspiring. It confirms with new force, after so many trials, dramatic situations, and tragic falls, the correctness of the historic choice made by our people in 1917—the choice in favor of socialism. [applause]

Look how everyone can now speak his mind and say what he wants. And this multiplicity of opinions, judgments, and emotions finds expression in public life on an unprecedented scale and under the most various guises. And what has happened? Without pretending or wishing to embellish, we can say that despite all the acuteness and critical nature of judgments heard over this period the Soviet people has, in the process of perestroyka, once more voted decisively and strongly for socialism. [applause]

Yes, we are renouncing everything which deformed socialism in the thirties and which led it into stagnation in the seventies. We want the sort of socialism which is cleansed of the deposits and distortions of earlier periods but which, at the same time, is the successor to all the best born of the creative thinking of the founders of our teaching and which has been embodied in life by the labor and efforts of the people and which reflects their hopes and aspirations. We want a socialism which absorbs all the advanced experience of world development and which is based to the full on the achievements of human progress.

Of course, it is not possible today to describe in every detail the specific features of the society toward which we are traveling through restructuring. But it is possible and necessary to outline the basic parameters and main features of what we call a qualitatively new state of society. It is possible because the main directions and tendencies of the transformation of society have already emerged. It is necessary because, apart from criticism which has revealed shortcomings and given an understanding of what we should renounce, there is an equally great demand for constructive and positive reference points to show the way and the means to bring practice closer to the ultimate aims and ideals of socialism.

We see socialism as a system of genuine and real humanism in which man is really the measure of all things. The whole development of society, starting with its economy and ending with the spiritual and ideological sphere, is aimed at satisfying the requirements of man and at his all-round development. And all of this is done by the labor, creativeness, and energy of the people themselves.

We see socialism as a system with an efficient and dynamic economy based on the best achievements of scientific-technical progress and ensuring the highest level of labor productivity, an economy directly subordinated to satisfying the demands of society and adapted to it.

Such an economy is based on varied forms of public and personal property, the organization of production in such a way as to ensure that the working people are the real masters of production and that earnings are directly linked with the results of one's labor. The planned management of the economy is based on the organic combination of the role of the center with structural questions being resolved by broad independence of production units as the producers of goods acting on the basis of financial autonomy and independence and working for the market.

We see socialism as a system with social justice, combining social guarantees of man's vital requirements of work, health protection, education, and housing with the consistent implementation of the principle of distribution according to one's work, with the eradication of any forms of excessive leveling and social parasitism. It is a society which values man's material and moral abilities, his fruitful labor, skill, and talent above everything else and which gives a worthy reward for this.

We see socialism as a highly cultured and moral system. It inherits and multiplies the best achievements of the spiritual development of mankind and its rich moral experience. It is a society where the man of labor enjoys a full-blooded and rich life in the material and spiritual sense, one which rejects consumerism, lack of spirituality, and cultural primitivism. The concept of a high standard of culture includes also the ecological standards of society and a careful and sensible approach to the natural conditions of the life and production activity of people, and the preservation and multiplication of natural wealth. We see socialism also as a system of genuine sovereignty of the people in which all working people are guaranteed full oppportunity to express their needs and interests, to participate in the management of social processes, and to overcome the alienation of man from power.

This is a society of the socialist self-management of the people, of profound and consistent democratism in economic management, social processes, legality, openness, and glasnost. We see socialism as a system of the genuine equality of all nations and nationalities, their social and spiritual flourishing and mutual enrichment, where there is no room for any display of dissension between the nationalities, nationalistic and chauvinistic prejudices, where internationalism and fraternity of nations triumph.

Lastly, we see socialism as a system whose nature and interests are organically characterized by the striving for peace, by strengthening cooperation and interaction with the fraternal socialist countries, establishment of normal civilized relations between all peoples and states on the basis of democratic principles, equality of rights, noninterference in each other's affairs, and recognition of the sovereign right of peoples to determine their own fate themselves. We have in mind precisely this kind of democratic, human face of socialism when talking about the qualitatively new situation in our society, as an important step in the movement toward communism.

The coming years will determine our country's future and the fate of the Soviet system. For us, this future will be as created by us; we will have to do it ourselves; nobody will do it for us or instead of us. This is how the question is put, and we are obliged to provide a direct answer to it without omissions and reticence, without attempts to evade honest comparison of the desirable and the actual words and deeds, of subjective ideas and objective realities. The Soviet people want clear prospects, full-blooded and unconditional democracy, legality without exception, glasnost in everything, big and small, fraternity and comradeship in relations, respect for industriousness and talent, faithful service to the cause and to public duty. We do not need social utopias, but we need clear reference points, objective criteria of socialist spirit in all stages of the changes so that the trends of social development are clearly visible, so that they are not overwhelmed by petty detail and ostentation, as happened often in the past.

We are convinced of the vitality of Marxist-Leninist teaching, which laid the foundations scientifically for the opportunity to build a society of social justice and a civilization of free people with equal rights. This is what guides us during the process of revolutionary restructuring, and this is how we shall act at its new and most important stage, which our party conference opens. [applause]

Comrades! In concluding my report, I would like to speak in general terms about the debate which preceded the conference and which became particularly lively following the publication of the Central Committee Theses. It is a long time since there has been such a broad, passionate, and fruitful debate within the party and in society, one which has been lively in its thought, its great number of proposals, and at times, acute clash of opinions.

At the center of it were essentially the main questions of restructuring—the democratization of public life and life within the party. The debate was virtually about one thing—how to improve this.

One can clearly say that the proposals and ideas which the Central Committee has brought to the conference were born of the collective thought of the party and all the people. Our aims are more democracy, more socialism, a better life for the man of toil, the greatness and good of the country.

Over these days we are to sum up the results of the work carried out in the name of achieving these aims, to adopt documents of vast importance, which should give a new impetus to restructuring and to make it irreversible. It is precisely this which determines the level of responsibility of each delegate and of our whole conference to the party and the Soviet people. [applause]

Foreign Media Carry Speech

LD2806113788 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 28 Jun 88

["Party Conference—Gorbachev Ends Report"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow June 28 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has completed his report "On Progress in Implementing the Decisions of the 27th Party Congress and the Tasks of Promoting Perestroyka."

About five thousand delegates to the all-union Communist Party conference representing 19 million CPSU members listened to the Soviet leader's 3.5-hour report in the Kremlin.

The speech was aired on radio and shown on television, via the Orbita space system and channels of Intervision and Eurovision.

For foreign listeners, the report from the Kremlin was broadcast in the English, French, German and Chinese languages.

The full text of the report, over 130 pages long, is being distributed in the press centre for the party conference. It will be broadly published in the Soviet press.

Leading Organ Members Listed

PM2906085388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report on membership of managing bodies elected on 28 June opening day of 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in Moscow: "Leading Organs of the Conference"]

[Text] Presidium [subhead]

O.O. Abramyan; P.A. Abrosov; Ye.I. Avgustinovich; R.A. Annushkina; S.G. Arutyunyan; Ye.N. Auyelbekov; V.G. Afanasyev; S.F. Akhromeyev; V.V. Bakatin; O.D. Baklanov; A.P. Biryukova; L.F. Bobykin; G.P. Bogomyakov; O.M. Boyko; P.D. Borodin; I.A. Vasilyev; A.-R.Kh. Vezirov; N.N. Vorobyev; V.I. Vorotnikov; N.I. Voskolupova; V.I. Vyalyas; N.V. Gellert; A.N. Gerasimov; M.S. Gorbachev; A.A. Gromyko; S.K. Grossu; Z.S. Gulova; P.N. Demichev; A.F. Dobrynin; V.I. Dolgykh; Ye.I. Drozdetskiy; A.S. Yeliseyev; P.B. Zhalimas; L.N. Zaykov; G.R. Ibragimov; G.D. Ivanova; V.A. Ivashko; G.A. Ilizarov; V.P. Kabaidze; V.I. Kalashnikov; I.V. Kapitonov; V.V. Karpov; G.V. Kolbin; B.I. Kolesnikov; S.V. Kolpakov; A.T. Korzyuk; A.M. Korolev; V.F. Krasnenkova; A.V. Kuzhilnyy; Ye. Kulybekov; K.Yu. Lavrov; Ye.K. Ligachev; A.D. Lizichev; M.P. Litauniyetse; A.I. Lukyanov; N.I. Malkov; Yu.A. Manayenkov; S.I. Manyakin; G.I. Marchuk; A.M. Masaliyev; K.I. Masik; Yu.D. Maslyukov; K. Makhkamov; V.A. Medvedev; G.V. Merkulova; V.K. Mesyats; G.A. Metonidze; V.I. Mironenko; V.S. Murakhovskiy; V.P. Nikonov; R.N. Nishanov; S.A. Niyazov; A. Nurgeldyyev; V.P. Orlov; Yu.P. Osinin; S.A. Osminin; D.I. Patiashvili; B.Ye. Paton; I.K. Polozkov; F.V. Popov; V.I. Postnikov; B.K. Pugo; Z.P. Pukhova; G.L. Rabdayev; G.P. Razumovskiy; I.Kh. Romazan; N.I. Ryzhkov; V.A. Saar; S.D. Safronov; V.L. Sidoreyko; N.N. Slyunkov; V.P. Smirnov; Ye.Ye. Sokolov; Yu.F. Solovyev; M.S. Solomentsev; R.-B.I. Songayla; V.A. Starodubtsev; Ye.S. Stroyev; N.V. Talyzin; N.I. Travkin; G.I. Usmanov; V.F. Utkin; R.Kh. Khabibullin; A.P. Khlebushkina; V.M. Chebrikov; M.A. Chursina; S.A. Shalayev; E.A. Shevardnadze; Ye.A. Shulyak; V.V. Shcherbitskiy; G.A. Yagodin; D.T. Yazov; and A.N. Yakovlev.

Secretariat [subhead]

V.P. Anishchev; Yu.P. Batalin; V.I. Boldin; Ye.A. Brakov; G.A. Brausova; Ye.P. Velikhov; B.G. Vladimirov; A.V. Vlasov; B.M. Volodin; I.L. Vorobyev; A.I. Galdeyev; K.N. Zagrebayeva; M.V. Kovalev; B.V. Konoplev; Ya.Yu. Martin; V.A. Masol; S.M. Nesterenko; K.G. Petrov; Yu.N. Pogorelov; Ye.M. Primakov; N.I. Svetlichnyy; V.I. Solomin; M.A. Ulyanov; A.A. Khomyakov; A.K. Chernyy; R.M. Shevtsova; and O.S. Shenin.

Editorial Commission [subhead]

A.N. Aksenov; G.A. Arbatov; A.V. Vasnetsov; V.M. Vologzhin; P.S. Grishchenko; V.I. Zorkaltsev; N.S. Igrunov; A. Kaldarbekova; I.P. Kalin; Z. Kamalidenov; A.P. Klautsen; V.G. Kulikov; V.A. Kuptsov; I.D. Laptev; S.A. Losev; G.M. Mkhitaryan; A.F. Nesteryuk; A.F. Ponomarev; G.I. Revenko; Yu.A. Sklyarov; G.F. Sukhoruchenkova; V.V. Tereshkova; A.P. Kharlamov; L.F. Shakolina; O.B. Shapovalov; L.V. Sharin; and B.Ye. Shcherbina.

Credentials Commission [subhead]

B.M. Basanov; Yu.A. Belyakov; N.B. Bikkenin; I.S. Boldyrev; G.A. Borovik; A.G. Braun; D.N. Gagarov; R. Gulamov; Kh.A. Dadov; K.V. Zaletskas; G.S. Kabasin; V.M. Kavun; A.S. Kamay; V.M. Kamentsev; S.A. Katyk; M.A. Knyazyuk; L.A. Kovalenko; I. Kozhakhmetov; V.G. Kolesnikov; V.A. Koptyug; S. Kubashev; S.A. Kuznetsova; Yu.I. Litvintsev; P.G. Lushev; A.V. Murashova; B.V. Nikolskiy; N.P. Osinovskiy; V.N. Pletneva; Ye.Z. Razumov; G.P. Razumovskiy; I.S. Silayev; Yu.M. Solomin; V.S. Stepanov; S.M. Suleymanov; G.S. Tarazevich; A.A. Titarenko; P.P. Todorov; G.I. Ulanov; P.Ye. Filippova; B.I. Fomin; P. Khabibullayev; V.Kh. Khachatryan; and M.Yu. Yusupov.

Proceedings Described

PM2906081588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on the Work of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference"]

[Text] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference began its work, in a businesslike atmosphere and in the spirit of Lenin's traditions, in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 28 June 1988.

It is being held 47 years after its predecessor. Convened following a decision by the CPSU Central Committee, the 19th all-union party conference has assembled at a crucial stage of restructuring so as to provide answers to questions of great and vital importance for the party and the country: What are the initial results of restructuring, what must be undertaken to eliminate the obstacles standing in its way, how to render the process of revolutionary renewal irreversible.

The conference was preceded by a fruitful and frank debate on the CPSU Central Committee Theses. In the course of this debate, Communists and nonparty members voiced many constructive proposals and critical comments aimed at further rallying and consolidating Soviet society and at deepening restructuring.

1000 hours. Applause by delegates welcomed the arrival in the hall of members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, and A.N. Yakovlev.

On the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, the conference was opened by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. On behalf of the Council of Delegation Representatives, he proposed the election of a conference Presidium consisting of fewer members than the congress Presidium—112 persons. The proposal was unanimously adopted.

The conference also approved a proposal to grant a delegate's mandate to Comrade V.I. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, who was elected to that post after the completion of delegate elections for the all-party conference.

The other leading organs of the conference—Secretariat, Editorial Commission, and Mandates Commission—were then unanimously constituted.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who was in the chair, read the conference agenda as confirmed by the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum:

1. On progress in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, basic results of the first half of the 12th 5-Year Plan period, and party organizations' tasks in deepening the process of restructuring.

2. On measures for the further democratization of the party's and society's life.

The conference agenda and order of work were approved, and a proposal to cover the content of both items on the agenda in a single report was adopted.

The floor was given to Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to deliver the CPSU Central Committee report to the 19th all-union party conference.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report "On Progress in Implementing the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions and the Tasks for the Deepening of Restructuring" was listened to by delegates with unflagging attention and was repeatedly interrupted by applause.

At the afternoon session, which was chaired by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the conference participants proceeded to discuss the report.

The following comrades spoke during the debate: V.V. Bakatin, first secretary of the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom; D.K. Motornyy, chairman of the Kirov Kolkhoz, Kherson Oblast; G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; V.K. Belyaninov, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute; Ye.I. Chazov, USSR minister of health; and A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee.

(PRAVDA will begin publishing the speeches by participants in the debate in its next issue).

Yakovlev Briefs Reporters on Gorbachev Speech
LD2906030088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 28 Jun 88

["Briefing" given by Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee member, to journalists at the press center of the 19th all-union party Conference on 28 June—recorded]

[Text] [Yakovlev] I see that the very fact that so many people have assembled here, representatives of all types of the mass communications media, testifies to the enormous interest in what is taking place in our country. As you know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of our party, delivered a report today at the conference. I think that there is no need whatsoever to recount the report. It envelops a broad spectrum of our life; it delves into deep-laid strata of our way of life, and not only from the point of view of the future, but also in restrospect. It raises serious questions about how we are going to live further, but, nevertheless, it is permeated with one main thought; namely, what needs to be done in practice for the socialist development of society and for the elevation of man. All the same from that broad spectrum of questions which were raised, I would like to mention four: First, the democratization of the life of society and the party; second, the forming of a state accepting the rule of law; third, the Communist Party's new role in society; and finally, fourth, policy with regard to science and culture and in the entire sphere of spiritual life.

Therefore, the main question which has been submitted for the conference's consideration is the all-embracing democratization of all aspects of life; the reform, with this aim, of the political system, as a whole, including organizational structure and the functioning of the party. The task is thereby being set to broaden the front of restructuring; to consolidate its course in the reconstruction of the superstructure; and on the basis of this interconnection, to make the revolutionary renewal of our society irreversible. The country, society, and the party are taking an enormous step forward. Personally I have no doubt that when we start casting a glance, and if not us, then others, at the present time from the heights of history, then the 19th party conference will rightly be called the conference of the democratization of Soviet

society. I also have no doubt that it is destined to go down in the history of the party and our state as one of special significance, on a par with the 7 April 1917 conference, with the April 1985 plenum of the Central Committee, and the 20th and 27th party congresses. I am sure that it will be so, for the present conference opens up a new period in the life of our society and in the development of the very theory and practice of socialism.

The problem of the democratization of society and the party was subjected in the report to thorough and deep analysis, especially from the point of view of its fundamental sources, historical experience, and deductions for public development. For the first time the question has been raised of a conscious, purposeful, and practical creation of a political system which would meet the nature of a new society and the modern stage of development of socialism and which would be aimed at overcoming the age-old alientation of man from power. But the significance of the conference and its decisions are determined not only by this. Important is the sociohistorical and spiritual context in which this task is being placed. It is defined by restructuring. In the last 3 years a gigantic amount of work, having few precedents, has been done, in intellectual and moral terms. The revolution of restructuring has penetrated deepest of all into the hearts of the people and today it is giving the main return in the pulsating of public thought. This work which is now being continued by the party conference to transform the political superstructure rests to a decisive extent on the theoretical and spiritual results of restructuring. It is the tasks of democratic transformations to ensure the political prerequisites for socialist society to become steadily dynamic, firmly resting on effective internal sources of self-development, hungrily accumulating everything that is new and stimulating, so that it should confidently advance toward the moral perfection of both the personality and society as a whole.

Restructuring, including a political system, is generally dictated by time. But its objective need has become particularly acute—I would say crying—insofar as a system that developed in the first post-revolutionary years has subsequently subjected to very serious deformations. A structure of authority was formed, aimed first at creating, consolidating, and extolling a regime of personality; second, on eliminating any possibility that the party masses and the people's legitimate constitutional bodies would control this regime; third, on excessively inflating and usurping the state's true authority to the detriment of society, and through its apparatus to the detriment of the electoral bodies.

As stressed in the general secretary's report, a depreciation of democracy's requirements has led to a situation where an existing political system, which is in many ways the product of a cult ideology, has proved to be indifferent to what is going on and inert to everything new and progressive. This has led to a weakening of public energy and initiative, has inured society to inflexibile and static thinking, and has given rise to a simplified form of socialist sovereignty of the people. That is why the party and Central Committee leadership concluded that there was a need for major changes. We see the reform of the political system as a movement toward freedom and responsibility and toward a special kind of socialist state in conditions of a free, open society. To accomplish this it was not just changes in institutions and procedures of authority that were required; what was required was a buildup in the intellectual potential of society and the opportunity to shape and apply it to the real world, and the cultivation of a high political culture. Otherwise, the most vital matter could drown in a sea of verbal dispute and lose its creative potential.

Today actions speak louder than words. The first fruits of the changes inspire confidence in the correctness of the course that has been taken. But it stresses particularly in the report that restructuring is in certain areas not proceeding as energetically and successfully as one would have wished. However, desires always outstrip opportunities, and one should still not lose touch over time.

What are the reasons why the braking factors have had a certain effect? Mainly this is because of weight of the legacy we have inherited. Mikhail Sergeyevich stressed in his report today that in a number of areas it had proved to be more serious than it seemed 3 years ago. This concerns the material side, public awareness, the organizational framework that has developed and the inertia and conservatism that has built up. But in the 4th year of restructuring to justify all its difficulties merely by the costs and the legacy of the past would contradict both the new approaches and the Leninist traditions. Of course, the past still lives on. It builds its nests wherever possible. But it is time to take responsibility on oneself. It is in the party Rules that things should be viewed as they really are, that omissions should be acknowledged, and efforts made to put them right. It was precisely this side of the picture that was particulary stressed in the party Central Committee general secretary's report.

In other words, the deep-down reasons for the braking have not yet been overcome. Not all the mechanisms of renewal have been fully put into operation. Restructuring has mainly affected the upper stratum of the problems and firm preparations must be made to take on the deeper strata. Was all of this unexpected? No. In a country as big as ours, with its multifarious problems and complications, it is not possible to restructure, at a stroke, life, habits, psychology, ways of thinging, predilections, alienations—many of which have assumed the character of firm stereotypes that have become convictions.

That is why revolutionary conditions demand energy and reason, the weighing of every step and every decision, attention and charitableness on the human dimension.

In the past 3 years very many acerbic statements have been made, not just what was not spoken of before, but much that was bitter and painful and that hurt the very deepest feelings, people's convictions and prejudices,

forcing them at times to reassess their whole lives. Some of these lives were very hard. Anyone who has just been following our affairs knows that this new openness has not been met only with applause. From the human point of view, this is probably normal, natural, and understandable. That is why glasnost, to which we came as an inevitable imperative of our life, and restructuring itself—the transformations themselves—all do not just come into the category of education, but are a deeply moral problem. The deviation from glasnost, the violation of democracy and socialist legality by the system and the aftermath of the cult and various little cults have cost the people, the country, and our dear party dearly. They have left behind a baneful residue in the spirit, consciousness, and psychology of people, sowing apathy and disbelief.

The party again today, this time based on the experience of the first years of restructuring, confirms with redoubled conviction that without glasnost there would be no restructuring; without glasnost there is no democracy; without glasnost there is no socialism. In our socialist society glasnost is not just a short-term element of policy, as people sometimes try to depict it. It is the inalienable prerogative of the people. We perceive it primarily as an indication of the health and strength of society, a condition of its normal functioning and, if you like, a sign of its social and political maturity.

The party today has once again confirmed the course of restoring Lenin's norms to its policy on science and culture. In brief, this can be expressed this way: the creation of the most favorable opportunities for the progress of the human spirit, its creative basis, support for the whole diversity of scientific and artistic creativity, the development of an atmosphere of healthy competition, and the exclusion of incompetent interference. The only thing that is unacceptable here is that which is aimed against man, against the moral health of society, and against the individual's dignity.

Restructuring and the deep transformations we have begun are also reflected in our approaches to problems of contemporary world development. For us, the new political thinking is not a closed and finished dogma but an aggregate of developing views. The new political thinking has as one of its basic ideas the idea of universality, the common nature of the historic fate of mankind, the priority of values common to all mankind.

It is our firm conviction that this opens up fundamental opportunities for democratic solutions to the problems of the modern world, solutions that are in the interest of all people, and points out ways and directions for seeking such solutions. It also gives a reasonable and constructive basis for practical actions such that all forces sincerely striving for peace can try to attain tangible results without sacrificing their views, specific values, and conceptions. The constructive and developing potential of the new political thinking lies in this quality, which is based on the recognition of every people's right to free choice.

Restructuring has raised, both on the practical and the theoretical levels, questions regarding the criteria of the socialist spirit. For a long time we identified theoretical conceptions of socialism with the practice of it and the forms of it that were established in the past. Comrade Gorbachev's report promotes considerations in this regard, too. A society oriented toward man and the work of his hands and mind, in which man really is the measure of all things; with an effective and dynamic economy subordinated to meeting society's needs, and resting upon the achievemnts of scientific and technical progress; a system of social justice, with a high standard of culture and morality; a full-blooded society with a life rich in both the material and spiritual sense; a system of sovereignty of the people, of socialist self-management of the people, democracy, openness, and glasnost in all spheres of life; a system of equality of all nations and ethnic groups, with their social and spiritual progress and mutual enrichment; and finally, a system where the striving for peace is inherent in its very nature and interests—this is what should comprise the qualitatively new state of our society. All this forms the democratic and humane face of socialism.

Some would say that these are the usual lofty words that have been expressed over and over again in the past. I agree: Lofty and usual they are. But it is the specific nature and goal of restructuring to turn these into practical criteria by which all practical deeds are tried.

The report also raises the issue of the formation of a socialist state accepting the rule of law: that is, a state where the supremacy of the law prevails, as do equality of all before the law, without exception, and guarantees of the personal rights of the individual, in the widest possible range—social, spiritual, political, moral, and so forth.

The conference has also raised the issue—to mention the report and the speeches given today—of the new role of the party, which we hope will become the political vanguard of society. As for its management and administrative functions, and so on, these should be firmly transferred to the local soviets. This comprises the fundamental solution. Here, I think, we are very close to the optimum solution of this issue, too. Although socialist society, it must be admitted, is no longer all that young any more—though it is younger than the societies you represent, or many of you, at least—we nevertheless think this society should continue to develop and seek new paths and new solutions on the way toward democratization, toward self-management, toward the development of human rights, toward guarateeing people's material existence, toward further improving the economy, and so on.

The conference has only just started its work, and it is difficult to speak of what will happen tomorrow or the day after. For us here, the Soviet Communists, the all-party conference is, above all, a serious conversation on the progress of restructuring, on some of its results.

That conversation has gotten underway; it has started in a businesslike way, it has started in a constructive way. It is aimed at analyzing the problems, at working out specific decisions.

And now you are welcome to ask your questions.

[Unidentified British journalist, speaking in English fading into Russian translation] Mr Yakovlev, could you give us your personal opinion on the composition of the delegates of the conference according to their political views? Do you share the opinion of some Soviet commentators who maintain that conservatively minded delegates comprise the majority of the conference as opposed to those who are devoted to the reform?

[Yakovlev] First, the composition of the conference is good. As regards the political indicators, they are all Communists [laughter], although nonparty people have also been invited. As regards conservatism, nonconservatism, liberalism, etc., I would say the following: Yes, that is true, both in our society and our party there are people of different views and approaches to resolving this or that issue. I do not think that we have people who seriously believe that there is an alternative to restructuring. Even the most hardened conservatives believe that restructuring is necessary, is needed, that the society has suffered enough to see it, that we can go no further without it—in the economic, social or intellectual sense.

Another thing is that debates are conducted about the way to bring that about, at what rate, with what methods, where we shall start. There are, in fact, things that are open to dispute. Yes, there are people who believe that something could wait till tomorrow. There are people who believe that openness has become too wide, that it could be also used for some other ends here, apart from the creative ones. Different points of view exist on the economic measures which are taken at present in the idiom of restructuring.

But you know, after all, all this is normal. If there had been no differing points of view on specific matters of restructuring, it would mean that it cannot be taken seriously, that it is something conjured up, that it is something which does not stem from life. And these different points of view rather please us. You saw in the report today the principles of pluralism of opinions. And we will develop that. We will be going toward the situation when this or that decision can be chosen optionally, so it would not be like in the past when [word indistinct] were developed, in camera, behind closed doors, etc, etc. That is why when you ask the question and when you write—and, you know, I am somewhat acquainted with both your articles and other things—I speak here not only of Soviet journalists, and when you write about conservatism, see some kind of battles here, knights' battlegrounds, etc., all that is not what exactly takes place. Heated debates are going on, but all of them within the framework of what is the best way to conduct affairs.

[MARXISM TODAY correspondent, speaking in English fading into Russian translation] MARXISM TODAY, London. In his report, Comrade Gorbachev spoke of the need to put an end to state subsidies. He said any price rise would be fully compensated. In what way?

[Yakovlev] This is a very complicated question. We have discussed it but it is so complicated that there is as yet no decision that could be spoken of as being more or less definite. There is a commission at work now that is considering all the variations, and there are many, many variations; at least five variants of various decisions. I do not know what this commission will conclude. This is a matter for specialists. But in any event, one thing can be said for certain. In the first place, all of this will be adopted only after discussion by all the people—that is, the publication of the elaborated draft in the press. Second, the people will suffer no loss. [Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1924 GMT on 28 June carries a report on Yakovlev's briefing that includes the following additional material at this point: Yakovlev adds: "Third, I can only say in response to your question that of course this will not affect the financially autonomous relations between enterprises." A LE MONDE correspondent says in English, with superimposed Russian translation: "LE MONDE. Mr Yakovlev, could you please tell us when the Politburo approved the report Comrade Gorbachev delivered today, if indeed the Politburo approved it?" Yakovlev replies: "Yes, I would think the Politburo reviewed, approved, and discussed the report. This took place, I think, 8 days ago in order to give the rapporteur time to consider all the wishes, corrections, and elaborations made at the Politburo meeting."]

[ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent, speaking in English fading into Russian translation] ASSOCIATED PRESS. In the first part of his speech Mr Gorbachev talked about measures to improve the food supply in the Soviet Union. When do you think there will be an end to rationing of basic food in the Soviet Union?

[Yakovlev] It is bitter for me to hear and respond to this question because it is true, because this is our illness, this is our sore point. Yes,it is necessary to introduce as soon as possible lease contracting, brigade contracting, agro-firms, agro-combines, and all the other things outlined recently in the context of agrarian policy. Yes, it is necessary to solve the food problem as soon as possible. It is a political question, a moral question. It is a social question. This is understandable. But the question as to when—you know, probably no one would try to give an exact answer. We can only give the true reply that we are simply obliged to do this in a very short period. We are obliged to.

But the whole point is that it does not matter what we undertake. If there is no hard work and if there is a continuation of the lack of self-reliance that is very widespread among us, then there is very little that we will

be able to do. In his report today, Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke very sharply about this, in a very committed way. He repeatedly said that it seems it is now necessary to go further in agriculture, especially in the area of management. If you have read this attentively you will have seen that it said that from now on a procedure should be established for the collevtive and state farms to themselves establish who should manage them and how they should be managed and what should be done. If they do not impose this on themselves, then that is how things will be. That means they will be responsible for everything they do. That is, people's self-interest must be raised further. Of course, without this there will be no foodstuffs, there will be nothing, nothing at all. Second, it is necessary to socially restructure the countryside.

[Correspondent Hansen, speaking in Russian] Paul Hansen, Danish newspaper INFORMATION. First, will the conference be examining organizational questions? Second, during the reform of political life will the party's prerogative in making appointments to especially important posts—the so-called nomenklatura– remain?

[Yakovlev] In reply to the first question: No, I think the party will retain cadre policy for itself; not in the nomenklatura sense, but in the sense of the training, education, and recommendation of cadres and care for them. As in your country, we cannot get by without an apparatus. Sometimes, you know, when we speak of bureaucratism—and in his report Mikhail Sergeyevich even spoke of the need to adopt a special conference resolution on fighting bureaucratism—this is very often directly linked with the apparatus. Well, this is true, the bearers of this bureaucratism are real people, and they are mainly in the apparatus. But it is not just that. We talk about bureaucratism as if it were a system of views and a system of behavior. That is what we must fight. We must create a new, different apparatus, an apparatus of a different quality, aimed at solving other questions and capable of working in conditions of glasnost and democracy. But this does not yet exist.

[Moscow Television correspondent] The "Good Evening Moscow" television program. In your opinion, is there a guarantee that the constructive ideas voiced in Comrade Gorbachev's report will find understanding and support among party conference delegates? Why do I ask this? We journalists were somewhat taken aback that when Gorbachev spoke about journalists' great responsibility, and about their sense of balance in their appraisal of what they are doing, stormy applause broke out in the hall. But when he then drew attention to the impermissibility of suppression or punishment of criticism, including that relating to the mass media, there was silence in the hall.

[Yakovlev] Well, this is also a reality that we must take into account. We must do so because I personally think the success of the policy of glasnost depends on the quality of glasnost, on truthfulness. I have this in mind. Let us look at history. Over the past 3 years I have had the opportunity to compare various stages of the life of the press. Over the past 3 years the press has, of course, carried out immensely sensitive work. Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke of this today. If you listened to his speech closely, then in my opinion very correct and precise stress was placed there. Undoubtedly, without glasnost we would not be able to achieve the level of social development we have today.

But what are people offended by very often, and what do they write about? Incidentally, we get tens of thousands of letters. They support glasnost and they support freedom of expression. They support the press becoming more open, bolder, more aggressive, and so on. But they do not support falsehoods, and not necessarily negative falsehoods—any falsehood. So if we learn the true lesson from the 27th party congress we should hold this moral category very dear. But it very often happens that people do not understand why it is possible for a journalist to say an untruth about another person. He can say everything, criticize the authorities, the bureaucracy. But let us criticize specific bureaucrats. The main thing is that this should be the truth. Any acute criticism is permissible, but just. Take protecting man's dignity and restructuring in this sense. We cannot allow a situation like before, when a man can do anything, crush him, stifle him. We must protect a man's dignity.

[U.S. NEWS correspondent, speaking in English fading into Russian translation] U.S. NEWS. Please give us an idea about the model of the implementation of the reforms. In other words, is it a question of a redistribution of power?

[Yakovlev] Well, indisputably it is the redistribution of power and the slogan we put forward—and not for the first time: All power to the soviets. So all legislative power in the country will belong to the soviets, executive power to the government and its organ in the localities. The party keeps for itself the functions of a political vanguard, ideological work, international policy, and other policy, I think. But policy—economic, national and social, but policy. [sentence as heard] As far as resolving concrete questions of management, distribution, and control is concerned, the government's subordinate to the Supreme Soviet.

I think a serious innovation also is the proposal on the introduction and formation of a Committee on Constitutional Surveillance that should be involved in work to ensure the conformity of laws adopted by the government and other executive bodies with the USSR's Constitution. All executive and any other bodies will be put under the control of the people. In that lies the meaning of socialist organization of society.

Slights Two-Party System

LD2906065688 Moscow TASS in English 0649 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 28 TASS—"I do not think that there are people in our country who would seriously believe that there is an alternative to perestroyka," said

Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Commitee, answering today questions of newsmen at the press-centre of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

"Even the most hardened conservatives believe that perestroyka is a must, that the society has gained the right to it through enough suffering, that without it we cannot further advance. Another thing is that it is a subject of controversy how that should be done, at what pace and through what methods it should be implemented. If there were no different views of the specific points of perstroyka that would mean that it could not be taken seriously, that would mean that it was something far-fetched. We are, on the contrary, glad that there are different views of it. The discussions are heated, and the criticism is sharp, but all that is within the framework of how to ensure that things should be done in the best way possible."

A number of questions at the briefing concerned the compatibility of the principles of democracy and the one-party system in Soviet society. Answering these questions, Aleksandr Yakovlev said: "I do not really believe that the two-party system in the USA reflects the whole spectrum of the social interests of that country's population.... Are we sure that as representatives of the CPSU that all people in the USSR share the views of the Communist Party? Probably, we do not think so.

"Yet we are now all speaking about the pluralism of views, so that everyone could freely express himself, put forward his proposals, uphold them. The wisdom of democracy, including in the party, should manifest itself in truly sensing these interests, sentiments and uniting them."

Speaking about the delimitation of the functions of the party and soviet bodies, Aleksandr Yakovlev said: "I would not wish to separate the party from the soviets, but every one should do his job. The whole legislative, administrative and control power must be vested with the soviets." The party leaves for itself the functions of the political vanguard, he added.

Leaders Lay Wreath at Lenin's Tomb

LD2806202288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 28 Jun 88

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Comrades Vorotnikov, Gromyko, Zaykov, Ligachev, Nikonov, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Chebrikov, Shevardnadze, Shcherbitskiy, and Yakovlev; candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Comrades Demichev, Dolgikh, Maslyukov, Razumovskiy, Solovyev, Talyzin, and Yazov; secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee Comrades Baklanov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, and Medvedev; as well as Kapitonov, chairman of the CPSU's Central Auditing Commission, the first secretaries of Central Committees of the union-republic Communist Parties, other members of the Presidium of the all-union CPSU conference, the first secretaries of party kraykoms and obkoms, the chairmen of the presidiums of the supreme soviets and the chairmen of the councils of ministers of the union republics today visited the Mausoleum of Lenin, founder of the Communist Party, leader of the world communist movement and creator of the world's first socialist state, and laid a wreath. On the scarlet ribbon of the wreath was the inscription: "To Vladimir Ilich Lenin from the delegates of the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference."

Party Conference Resumes Work 29 Jun

LD2906061988 Moscow TASS in English 0618 GMT 29 Jun 88

[Text] Moscow June 29 TASS—The 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU resumed its work in the Kremlin today.

The conference, which opened yesterday, is to sum up the course of fulfilment of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress (1986) and work out a programme of further promoting perestroyka.

Zaykov Interviewed on Party Conference

LD2706142288 Budapest MTI in English 1340 GMT 27 Jun 88

[Text] Budapest, June 27 (MTI)—Lev Zaykov, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and first secretary of the Moscow Party Committee, gave an interview to the MTI Moscow correspondent. He spoke about the preparations of the 19th party conference, to be opened on Tuesday, and the present phase of perestroyka.

Among others Zaykov said:

'We, the Moscow delegates, have a lot to say at the party forum. First of all, we have to make it clear that Moscow gives a firm support to the Central Committee in realizing its strategic targets aimed at the deepening the people's power in all walks of life. We are backing the new style of restructuring established by the party, the immediate realization of conceptions, which reflects that the party is the propelling force in the revolutionary renewal of socialism.

'On the second place, the Moscow experience drawn from demcratization and new thinking during the three years of perestroyka is noteworthy. At the same time the metropolitan party committee had to fight a heavy struggle both against the conservatism characterizing theperiod of stagnation, and the too fast pace of the 'extreme left'. The workers of Moscow were not misled

neither by demagogy, nor by extreme or pseudo-nationalism. People of Moscow are learning how to work under the conditions of widening democracy and glasnost.

'At last, on the basis of the theses of the Central Committee we have elaborated our proposals and a practical work programme to be forwarded to the party conference. The delegates for the party conference were elected and the theses were discussed in an open party meeting including almost all the inhabitants of Moscow. This publicity makes it possible that we supplement the draft document of the conference with a bulky proposal package.

'Our cadres, the party and the people are facing new phenomena, and new processes that create a new situation. We have seen that not everybody is capable of correctly assessing the present situation. There is confusion in many heads. There are people who despair or panic.

'I think that perestroyka is impeded mainly by conservatism. Behind conservatism there are forces that perestroyka compels to give up their previous way of life, and those who can not or will not get rid of the dogmatic concepts of socialism. Among these forces one can also meet nationalist and chauvinist views. The greatest achievement in the first phase of perestroyka is that the Soviet people give an ever increasing support to the revolutionary transformation underway in the country.'

'The intense interest following the debate of the party Theses reflects that the population of the country has lined up behind the transformation initiated by the party.'

Scenes From Opening Day of 19th All-Union CPSU Conference

Gorbachev Delivers Opening Address

Members of the Conference Presidium Listen to Gorbachev Address

Conference Delegates

Delegates Vote on Procedural Point